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THE

NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

HISTORY

OF THE

NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND.

FROM A NEW COLLATION OF

THE CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.

BY

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LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1869.

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PREFACE.

In writing of our Norman Kings from my own collation of the materials extant, I refer almost exclusively to those annalists who lived among the people and scenes they describe, whose reflections are in accord with the spirit of their time, whose point of view is real and picturesque. And I discharge myself of unwarranted augmentations by later chroniclers, of the so-called 'philosophies of history' and of rhetorical flourishes which involve the false with the true.

I seek to be accurate and clear rather than elegant.

Of my authorities—familiar to the student,—I have to confess that they are apt to exaggerate: they have *formulæ* to express their passions: they seem credulous, uncritical as we say. But, with these characteristics of recluse life, I insist that they possessed mother-wit and conscience; and it is no less certain that they took pains to be well informed. In fact the intellectual monks were the thinkers as well as the writers, the *clerici* and just centre of civilisation, through whom alone we can appreciate their era. Nor were they so limited by their order as to be incapable of lay interests. In spite of the claims of Rome

and of the discipline of the cloister, they yet loved their country and heartily asserted its liberties. They farmed, they hoarded, they felt the grief of taxes, as did other men. They mediated in affairs of peace, of ransoms, of marriage and the like; they aided in electing kings, thronged the general councils, ministered on the battle-field. They wended from convent to castle, from the cell to the Vatican; now in the hall face to face with some magnate, now in the refectory with gossiping travellers. In the *Scriptorium*, they transcribed old records and maintained the traditions: they supplemented the experiences of the past, for they noted what they saw and heard and believed. Farther, authentic copies of state proclamations, of charters royal and baronial, of all such documents as needed to be published and preserved, lay to their hand in the archives of every chief monastery. They treat of the joys and sorrows of the foreworld. Their tale is human albeit their reasoning be unworldly now and then. Occasionally they tell us the price of corn, of wool, the value of money, of the failure of this crop and of that, of the glad harvest, of famines, diseases, floods and raids, of affairs of state, sieges and battles, of peace and innocence; at all times of religion: they describe the relation between God and man and between man and man as they perceived it; and when they vaunt miracles and portents they but illustrate the faith by which they lived. From age to age, throughout the land, they, more or less ably, devoted life to literature and, daily adding to the store, have preserved to us an entire series of contemporary Chronicles.

Cf. Chr. J. Oxenedes, pp. 278, sq.

The study of letters was, of course, confined to those among them who might be capable: the practice of writing history and the annals still more straightened. Of lazy, 'futile,' monks, I find but few traces at this epoch. "Pray, read, chant, write; be instant in occupation of the sort; so shall you arm yourselves against the temptations of the Evil One," said Abbot Thierry to the brothers of S. Evroult. And again, "*Unde vivent oratores, si defecerint aratores?*" "*Laborare est orare.*" Abbot Osbern, 'an enemy to idleness, with his own hands would make the writing-implements, prepare the tables overspread with wax and, by a faculty, draw the novices to learning.'

O. Vit. iii. 3.

Ib. 7.

Duty taught in this way, the 'merit' of writing is thus curiously illustrated. 'A certain brother, wont to break monastic rule, being a good scribe, copied out the entire Holy Scriptures. After death, his soul was brought before the tribunal of the righteous Judge. There the evil spirits sharply accused him while the godly angels shewed the volume he had written; against every sin balancing a syllable. Finally, words outweighing wickedness, though by but one letter, mercy prevailed.' "Cleanse your hearts, then, from vain desires," says Vitalis, "and be always offering the work of your hands as an acceptable sacrifice to the Lord."

Ib. iii. 3.

The scope of our chroniclers may be somewhat narrow; but, with due allowance for the facts that they lived much apart from the more eager struggle for life, that the interests of the convent and of the church were dearest to their hearts, that they were shut out from

home-love and tied to many pedantries of opinion, we shall recognise their good faith and accept their testimony.

Hist. Nov. A.D. 1130. "Doubtless," says Malmesbury, "King Henry while in Normandy performed many worthy things; but it is my design to omit whatever does not come authen-

Ib. ticated to my knowledge." "I do not relate this merely because I believe the word of a prelate who, as I am aware, well knew how to shift himself with varying times; but, as an historian, intent on truth, I write what was a general opinion on the subject."

Ib. Conc. Westm. 1141. Again, "I cannot relate the transactions of this council with that exactness with which I described the former, for I was not present at it:" and again, "This I pur-

Hist. Nov. iii. ad. fin. pose narrating more fully if, by God's permission, I shall ever learn the truth of it from those who were there." Once more, ". . . for I heard him speaking

Hist. Nov. ii. to the following purport."

J. Wig. 1138. So John of Worcester, "I omit concerning the bloodshed of many others, for I am ignorant respect-

Ib. 1139. Post, p. 286. ing it:" and in another place, "One morning at day-break, viz. Tuesday, November 7, when we were

J. Wig. 1140. engaged at Lauds," whereupon he narrates the sack of Worcester which he saw: and again, "As we have heard from Milo's own mouth."

H. Hunt. Ep. ad Gualt. de Contemptu Mundi. So Henry of Huntingdon, "I shall relate nothing that has been told before but only what is within my own knowledge—the only wisdom that can be deemed authentic. When I was a child, and while I was a young man, I had opportunities of closely observing our Bishop Robert. I saw his retinues of gallant knights and noble youths; his horses of price, his vessels

of gold or of silver-gilt, the splendid array of his plate, the gorgeousness of his servitors, the fine linen and purple robes. . . . I saw him shed tears during dinner, while I, then his archdeacon, sate near him. . . . I have seen William the king's son habited in robes of silk interwoven with gold. . . . I observed the excessive state with which he surrounded himself and his own pride. . . . Richard, too, the king's bastard who had been brought up by our bishop and treated with distinction by me and others of the household."

So Orderic, "I believe that in future times there will be men like myself who will eagerly search the pages of history for the acts of this generation, that they may be able to disclose what has happened for the instruction and amusement of their contemporaries." "I have determined to publish something that may be useful and interesting to our brethren in the Lord's house. . . I have already published two books in which I have given a true account of the restoration of our house and of three of our abbots with some public affairs of the period which I have carefully collected from men of years and experience." When writing the story of S. William (Courtenay) he tells us his mode. "Anthony a monk of Winchester brought the book here (not"—he cautions us—"that story in verse which is sung by gleemen) and complied with my earnest desire to see it . . . but as the bearer was in haste and the severe frost stayed me from writing I made a short abridgment of it on my tablets." "Fulcher of Chartres, chaplain to Duke Baldwin, who went out with it, has published an accurate volume on the Crusade. Likewise Balderic Archbishop of Dôl wrote

O. Vit. ix. 17.

Ib. vi. 1.

Ib. vi. 3.

Ib. ix. 1.

Ib. 18.

four books in which he has detailed truly from the beginning to the first battle. I have followed the steps of this venerable man with whom I was intimate. In many places I have quoted his very words. Some things I have shortened: other matters, on which he was silent, I have added from persons who shared the toils and perils of that expedition." Again, "I have spoken more particularly of this ordination because I was present and, unworthy as I am, took upon me the burden of the priesthood thereat."

O. Vit. xi. 30.

The good faith of such writers is manifest; their experience may also be shewn.

Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum a Guil. Pictavensi. ed. Maseres. Lond. 1807. O. Vit. iv. 1–7.

William of Poitiers, Archdeacon of Lisieux, the Duke's chaplain, may not have been present at the battle of Hastings—rather of 'Senlac'—yet he well describes it and the action of the next three months. And the events of the four following years, in which he was conversant, though not extant in that author, are preserved in Orderic.

Widonis Ambianensis Carmen de Praelio Hastingensi. Ch. A. N. Michel, iii.

Wido, or Guy, Bishop of Amiens, saw the fight; and, in heroic vein, tells of Harold and of William. He notes, too, that the crown of England was a work of Byzantine art.

Guil. Gemmeticensis Historiæ. Normannorum. See Hardy, Descr. Cat. E. H. ii. pp. 19, 20. Recueil des Hist. de la N. xiii. Præf. xvi.

These and William (*Calculus*), Monk of Jumiéges, who ended his page with the invasion, stood sufficiently near to have known what they record of the Conqueror.

But the continuator of Jumiéges, Robert de Thorigny, Monk and Prior of Bec A.D. 1128–1154 (better remembered as De Monte, or Du Mont, since he became Abbot of Mont S. Michel), writing later, is authentic rather for the Norman life of Henry and of Stephen.

So, too, Ordericus Vitalis, English born, a monk of S. Evroult. From what sources either of these, respectively, filled up the interval between 1066 and 1070 to the date of his own experience, I cannot ascertain. But from the latter period to the close of the several chronicles—De Monte's in 1154, Orderic's in 1141—each clerk must be considered a personal witness to his facts. Take this domestic incident from Orderic:—"Thirty years afterwards, Hugh de Montpinçon visited us, bringing his eldest son Ralf and his wife Matilda, daughter of Hugh de Grantmesnil, who was then in trouble for the recent death of her sister Adeline, wife of Roger D'Ivri. Hugh now renewed that spiritual brotherhood with the monks which he had embraced in childhood and asked our prayers for his brother Ralf who had died in pilgrimage. Meantime, little Ralf, his son, a boy adopted by the convent, being led round the chapter by Walter the Bald, a talkative knight, kissed all the brethren—and then confirmed the grants made by his father and uncle to S. Evroult."

Orderici Vitalis Angligenæ Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, libri xiii. ed. Le Prevost. Dom. Bouquet, xi. Præf. No. 12. Ib. xii. Præf. No. 49. O. Vital. v. 17.

Robert Wace of Jersey, Canon of Bayeux, though paraphrasing Jumiéges in verse, has, in the Roman de Rou (written after 1170), added from unknown annals much that may be accepted; his consent with known facts vouching for his candour when he tells of matters otherwise unknown.

Le Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie. F. Pluquet. Rouen, 1827. E. Taylor, Lond. 1837. Giles' transl.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, current throughout this period, though brief and crude, are replete with English concerns, especially in the circuit of Peterborough, whence the latter part seems to date. "If any would know what manner of man King William was, then will we describe him as we have known him, we who

See Thorpe's Lapp. A.S. Introd. xxxix. sq. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1087. See Hardy,

ut supra, i. Nos. 1253–6.

have looked upon him and who once lived in his court."

Eadmeri Monachi Cant. Historiæ Novorum, sive sui Sæculi, libri vi. Selden.

Eadmer, 'a pure Saxon,' Benedictine of Canterbury, Abbot of S. Alban's, disciple and friend of Archbishop Anselm, wrote of his times—from the Conquest till 1122,—copied the Primate's letters into a Supplement, and is diffuse on the quarrel of his patron with Rufus and Henry.

Vita Anselm. Cant. Archiepisc. auctore Eadmero, libri ii. Wharton, Angl. Sa. ii.

Florentii Wigornien-cis Chronicon ex Chronicis, Thorpe.

Florence (Bavonius), Monk of Worcester, having translated with careful emendation part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and epitomised Marianus Scotus, becomes in turn a credible witness for the latter years of William, A.D. 1083, till his own decease, July 7, 1118. "His accurate observation and his diligence render his Chronicle of Chronicles precious above all others," says his continuator

John, who, from the same cloister, notes passing events generally, those of his city and its region in particular, from A.D. 1118 to 1140. And here we have a pleasant light on these men's habit of research.

Cf. O. Vit. iii. 15.

Ordericus, journeying to Cambray, to Worcester, to Croyland, spends six week at the last place, inspecting, briefing, the calendar. At Worcester he finds brother John at his desk, completing the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus. With such affection for the country of his birth that he would fain be styled 'The English-born,' with learning and probity so evidenced in all his works, it cannot but be that for events in England during his epoch Orderic may be relied on: for those in Normandy he is of paramount authority.

William, monk and librarian of Malmesbury, Norman by father, Saxon by mother, a historian rather

than a chronicler, brought his chief work on the Acts of the English kings down to the year 1129. This, however, notwithstanding its intrinsic value, is a compilation; its matter ending while the author was yet in youth. In an address to Robert Earl of Gloster, he refers to three smaller volumes of Chronicle which he had written. These, now lost, may have contained events partly within his personal knowledge; but the genuine Chronicle of this author is in the 'Modern History,' which ranges from A.D. 1126 to 1142.

De Gestis Regum, libri iv.

Præf. ad Hist. Nov.

Historiæ Novellæ, libri iii. E. Hist. Soc.

Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, published in the year 1135 seven books of Chronicles of England. The first six of these are epitomised from Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. But the seventh book rises in importance. "Now," he says, on commencing to write of the year 1088, "I have to deal with events which passed under my own observation, or which have been told me by witnesses of them." So, too, of the tenth book, in which, after an interval of thirteen years, he resumes and closes his work A.D. 1154. From him, also, we get insight to the means of intercourse and the sources of knowledge. At Bec, on his way to Rome, Henry talked over books and bookmen (*Historia Britonum* and Geoffrey of Monmouth to wit) with that 'learned antiquary' Robert du Mont.

Henrici Huntindoniensis Historiarum, libri viii. Savile.

See Hardy, ut supra, pp. 277, sq.

Cited as viii.

The unnamed author of the Acts of Stephen—probably a foreigner—from internal evidence appears to have camped and counselled with the king. He exhibits events, places, the character of the people and the condition of the country, as none not seeing could have shewn them. He tells us of the royal will and

Gesta Stephani Regis Anglorum. Sewell.

of the royal weakness as though he intimately knew the man: as if he loved Stephen much, but loved truth more.

Historia piæ Memoriæ Ricardi, Prioris Hagustaldensis Ecclesiæ, de Gestis Regis Stephani et de Bello Standardi. J. Hagust. Twysden.

Richard, Prior of the Augustines at Hexham, narrates the first five years of King Stephen's reign A.D. 1135–39. And

John, his succcessor, continued the Chronicle of Simeon of Durham from A.D. 1130 to 1154. Simeon, himself, precentor of S. Cuthbert's, having followed Florence more or less exactly.

Historia Rerum Anglicarum Willelmi Parvi de Neuburgh. Hamilton, 1846. Gul. Neubrigensis, ed. Hearne, Ox. 1719.

William, Canon of Newburgh, Yorkshire, a correct writer, somewhat critical too, born in the first year of King Stephen's reign and living into the next century, published five books of the history of his own time. In the first of them is related perspicuously much that may have passed under the author's observation.

Gale. i. Ox. 1684.

It is quite certain that the work which we now possess under Ingulph's name is not that left by the Abbot of Croyland, 1075–1109, if, indeed, Abbot Ingulph wrote any chronicle. The book, which is full of anachronisms and spurious charters, seems rather a compilation from other chronicles freely interpolated with whatever might advance the honour or profit of the Abbey of Croyland. Occasionally, notwithstanding, there are passages—possibly the embedded remains of some genuine annalist—that help us to understand the times. Of these, under caution, the student will avail himself.

Ingulph. A.D. 1043.

"I frequently saw Queen Eadgyth," says Ingulph, "when in my boyhood I used to go to meet my father who was then employed about the court; and I often met her as I was coming from school. She would

question me about my studies and my verses; and, most readily passing from the solid business of grammar to the lighter article of logic in which she was very skilful, would catch me in the small threads of her argument. She would always give me three or four pieces of money, which were counted out to me by a handmaiden, and then would send me to the royal larder to refresh myself." . . . After "making progress beyond most of my fellows in mastering Aristotle, when I had clothed myself down to the heels in the 1st and 2nd Rhetoric of Tully,"—this vainest of monks, recounting his advancement wherein he "humbled and exalted at pleasure," lets us know that he, on the part of the Abbot of Fontenelle, presented, "as subsidy for the invasion of England, 12 chosen youths on horses, armed, with 100 marks for their expenses."

Sub anno 1051.

Sub anno 1075.

Ailred or Æthelred, monk, eventually Abbot of Rievaulx, a Cistercian, born 1109, died 1166, canonised 1191, educated with Henry son of David King of Scots, was, at the time of writing his account of the battle of the Standard, Abbot of Revesby, Lincolnshire.

Descriptio Athelredi Abbatis Rievallensis de Bello inter Regem Scotiæ et Barones Angliæ. Ailred de Bello Standardi. Twysden.

Of writers who lived half a century subsequent and retrace our period,—whose works may, under caution, be consulted as in some way suppletory, Gervais, a Benedictine of Canterbury, copied John of Hexham and Henry of Huntingdon; Roger of Wendover monk of S. Alban's, Prior of Belvoir, copied Robert de Monte; Roger Hoveden, chaplain to King Henry II., jurist, professor of divinity in Oxford, copied Simeon and Henry.

Flores Hist. E. Hist. Soc. ed. Coxe.

The Annals of Waverley are valuable chiefly as excerpts from De Monte: those of Winton, when not abridged from Malmesbury or from the Worcester

Annales Monastici, ii. Luard.

Chronicle have scarcely more than local importance during this epoch. The genuine letters of Lanfranc, of Anselm, of Gilbert Foliot, I have made use of on occasion.

Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Through various forms of self-restraint, the monastic orders raised human nature, kept the religious sentiment alive and, consciously or not, existed as a protest against brute force and the coarser forms of worldliness. As ministers to and teachers of all classes, as special guardians of the poor, as the conservators of art, science, literature, the experimental farmers, the enterprising staplers, the industrious and the quiet of the earth, more fairly than others could they look on events, kindlier feel towards the people at large, with fuller knowledge speak the voice and tell the incidents of their time. The business of the cloister was to secure a holy life; cultivation of the mind ancillary thereto.

But the corrupting influence of the Roman court was already working; and simple men, in exercise of faith in the Apostolic see, stooped to excuse, if not to justify, breaches of the moral law to behoof of papal venality. Robert de Mowbray lying under sentence of life-long imprisonment, Matilda de l'Aigle, whom he had wedded but three months previously, became 'deprived of the consolations of marriage,' nor, 'during her husband's term, could she, according to God's law, change her state;' at length, however, Pope Pascal, 'before whom the case was brought by learned persons, licensed; and Nigel D'Albini took her to wife. For some time, out of respect to her noble parents, Nigel treated Matilda with honour; but, on decease of Gilbert her brother, because she had been his cousin's wife, he repudiated

A.D. 1095. pp. 107, sq.

O. Vit. viii. 23.

A.D. 1099. A.D. 1116.

her and married Hugh de Gournay's sister, Gundrede.' Under Roman casuistry and for lucre sake it had become hard to contract marriage without a 'dispensation,' easy to dissolve it 'on the ground of consanguinity.' On a debased sense of ethics, revolting asceticism followed. One example is worth noting. Ralf, a noble of the house of Giroie, who in youth had addicted himself 'to military exercise and other frivolities—whence he gat the name *Mal-corona*'—and, later, studied 'medicine and many deep secrets of nature' to wonder of his generation, on becoming a monk of Marmoutier, 'devoutly prayed that his body might be overspread with loathsome leprosy so that his soul might be cleansed from the foulness of his sins. Obtaining his pious wish, he died happily six years after his conversion.' The inconsistency of this line of spiritual exercise with the wholesome charity of the literary brothers is suggestive. The scribe is more cleanly, his aspirations are more catholic. "These things which I ask for myself now and hereafter, I beseech also for my friends and benefactors. I implore them, also, for all Thy faithful, according to Thy good providence."

O. Vit. iii. 2.

O. Vit. xiii. 45, ad fin.

My authorities, I admit, philosophise from the cell, not from the forum, and are splenetic on occasion. A fixed idea rules their feelings and their candour. Whoever would limit immunities claimed by the Church lies in the bonds of iniquity: every agent therein is a man of Belial. Æilwine,' '*cognomento Retheresgut, id est, venter pecudis*,' may represent the vulgar 'cheater' as patent to monastic grudge and monastic humour; but Ranulf Passe-flabere, or Passe-flambard, is of a

Lib. Eliensis, ii. c. 135.

higher type; and, in abusing him, every chronicler becomes fanciful. 'At one time this man held sixteen churches with some sees and abbeys; and, paying the king 400 marks, more or less, yearly, for the same, reduced his farms to extreme poverty and the people thereof to weariness of life,' As 'manager and director of Rufus' councils and affairs, his special pleas-man and capital tax-gatherer,' as 'an invincible pleader, unrestrained in words as in acts, equally furious against the mild and the turbulent,' as an astute accountant who would schedule ecclesiastical properties to the nicest item, none, indeed, had fuller means of incurring odium than he; none could be more indefatigable in his rôle.

Flo. Wig. Ann. Winton. fo. 24.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

W. Malm. De Gestis R. iv. 1.

Lib. Eli. ii. c. 139.

Probably these traits are true in the main. Still, we have but a crude character of the man. One says 'he was hard and passionate, yet generous and jocular—a favourite, even beloved of some.' Prosperous, sensual, it is likely that, outside the religious circle, he drew a certain following. When prisoned in the Tower, being boarded at two shillings a day—equivalent to 30s. of modern money, (for the shilling weighed three of our shillings and silver then bore five times the value it now bears)—he entertained his keepers who 'washed down the sumptuous fare with Falernian cups.' Even in his hospitality there lurked craft. His butler bringing him a cord coiled in a flagon, he left his guests to their rouse, tied the cord to a mullion, grasped his crozier and, from the window, let himself down outside the wall. 'But he had forgotten his gloves and he grazed his hands to the very bone,'—our informant is minute, 'whether it were his hand or

O. Vit. x. 11.

A.D. 1100.

See Lytt. Hist. H. II. i. 539.

W. Malm.

his arm it matters not,'—and, when the rope ran short, he fell to ground, bruised sorely'—it is pleasantly added —'howling.' Faithful and tried friends awaited him; they had got his treasures and saddled horses; and Ranulf escaped beyond sea; having risked life for liberty to venture wealth, liberty, life, in Curthose's cause. Possibly, not less by his political, than by his social and financial, proclivities, he commended himself to party prejudice.

He is said to have been illiterate wholly: advanced not by reason of piety at all but because of ableness in worldly matters. Yet it would seem that he wrote a book on the laws of England, basis, haply, of the works of Glanvil, Bracton, Fleta and the rest. His cunning earned Rufus' favour. We know not by what services he charmed Beauclerk. Henry restored him to his see. There is no charge against his episcopate. Notwithstanding, as in the refectory all spake from bitter experience and in gall, so in the archives of each convent are tales of him ridiculous, malign. 'His mother was a sorceress who had frequent conference with the devil, in course of which accursed familiarity she lost an eye!' 'Being charged of incontinence and other unbecoming things and not appearing after numerous citations, the legate, in person, had need seek him at home. So the legate came to Durham and was honourably entertained. And the legate, under connivance, seduced the bishop's niece. *Post vina cor bene bibentium lætificantia, captus est et accensus legatus amore virginis miræ pulchritudinis, neptis pontificis. Convenit eam; conventa thalamum ejus thorumque moribus instituenda Romanis, ut ei ab episcopo fuerat*

O. Vit. 18.

Chron. Petrob. apud Sparke.

A.D. 1107.

O. Vit. x. 18.

Ann. Winton. fo. 28.

imperatum, ingressa est. Ingressa illa thorum, thalamum ingreditur episcopus cum clericis et pueris, poculisque et luminaribus noctis tenebras claritate sua radiantibus. Circumstantesque legati lectum, clara voce clamabant: "Benedicite, benedicite!" Iste inde stupefactus, "Quid," inquit, "facitis, pro S. Petro?" "Domine," ait episcopus, "nostræ consuetudo est patriæ quod quoties quis generosus nupserit, hic ei ab amicis debetur honor et reverentia. Surge, ergo, et bibe quod in hunc quem porto calicem est. Quod, si renueris, certe ecce jam bibiturus es calicem post quem ultra non sities." Vellet denique vel nollet, surrexit; et, nudatus usque ad inguina, bibit ad novam nuptam dimidium quod erat in pontificis calice. Discessit inde pontifex, jam non sollicitus de pontificatus amissione. Legatus vero, prius quam diesceret, cum concubina sua et blando dedecore inde fugiens, quam cito potuit Romam reversus est.'

The scene is prurient enough. It suits the popular idea of the actors' part: but the ignominious retreat of John of Crema (which gave cue to this invention) is referable to a graver and more public exhibition of cardinal profligacy.

Cf. H. Hunt. Chron. 1124, post, p. 207.

H. Hunt.

Another Ralf, Chancellor to King Henry, incurred ill will of the registering clerks. For twenty years he had groaned under some infirmity yet continued earnest in state affairs 'in comparison with younger rogues;' boasting that, though his body were feeble, his mind retained its shrewdness. 'His greed grew with his grief, his sins with his sickness, his peculations with his pains.' The king, on a time, condescending to visit him near Berkhampstead, he, having met and joined the escort, on reaching a summit whence his house could be de-

Ib. Ep. ad Gualt.

scried, in height of exultation, fell from his horse; and, being ridden over (one says 'at a gallop') by a monk of S. Alban's, died of his hurt, within a few days. The clergy triumph in his death. 'What a fall had this man's pride! He met his end in an extraordinary way!' Metaphorically, he had trampled on monks; and it seemed right-wise that some monk should set actual foot on him.

R. Wendover. H. Hunt. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1123. Jan.

It is pleasant, after this, to find any recognition of virtue in public men: a fair character of one who neither vexed nor cajolled monks. Robert de Bellomont who, in youth, at Senlac had achieved renown, who, later, was known as 'the wisest politician between this and Jerusalem,' having added to his paternal estates (Beaumont le Roger, Pont Audemar, &c. in Normandy and many manours—ninety-one in all—in England) the castle and territories of Meulan or Mellent in France (which had been held by his mother's brother, Hugh son of Waleran)—'his coffers stored with a prodigious influx of gold, silver, precious gems and household furniture,'—became, in some sort, the arbiter between France and England; his moderation calming lay and cleric quarrels also. A mainstay in Rufus' council, 'conducted gradually by budding hope towards fame, he attained to its full bloom in Henry's days.' 'His advice as the oracle of God,' he the harbinger of peace, the queller of strife, 'capable of bringing about his ends by eloquence.' 'In Law, the advocate of Justice, in War, the herald of Victory; rigorous in enforcing and in obeying the statutes; loyal, intent on beneficial reforms, an avenger of all treachery.' Whom he favoured ran the road to fortune: whom he frowned on fell by the way.

W. Malm. De Gestis R. v.

H. Hunt. Ep. ad Gualt.

See post, p. 103.

W. Malm. ut supra.

Even socially, his influence seems to have chastened mode and manners. Nobles clothed as he clothed, dieted as he dieted. 'Some, indeed, would blame him for adopting, from the Greek Emperor Alexius, a rule of one meal daily, as an illiberal breach of our tradition' of King Harthcnut: they thought that, 'being delicate,' he could not eat four times a day 'without suffering the pangs of indigestion.' 'Yet was no magnate more lavish than he in feasting others.'

H. Hunt. Chron. A.D. 1040.

One cannot conceive a sentiment more noble in the feudal baron or more worthy in a statesman than that traced to him. "True majesty is of God alone: the *crimen læsæ majestatis* is so called only because the king is God's image upon earth." I do not know the particular occasions:—'he was wont to say so'—but the rebuke was as pungent to Henry as to Rufus.

J. Sarisb. Polycrat. vi. 25.

See post, p. 367.

Just and kindly in violent times, respected, beloved, prudent amid a reckless generation and guiding many by his example, such is the character of a prime minister in the court of the second William and of Henry. Certés, he did well to himself and men praised him accordingly. Yet in the end 'his mind, clouded by the grief of his spirit—for it would seem that his wife left him,—disturbed itself with vain regrets, fond memories; and he died hardly caring to give the Church the customary assurance of his faith. "Wretched man that I am! if I dismember my domains, what shall I leave to my sons?" "Your hereditary estates and the lands which you have justly gotten are enough for them," interposed 'the ministers of the Lord—archbishops and priests'—"restore the rest; else, you devote your soul to perdition." "My sons shall have

H. Hunt. Ep. ad Gualt. De Contemptu Mundi.

Jan. A.D. 1118.

all," said the dying earl. "I leave it to them to act mercifully that I, defunct, may obtain mercy." 'It is evident,' adds our commentator, 'that a man's highest wisdom may degenerate not only into folly but into blind insanity.' Surely he did not know this man. Faithful to Rufus, faithful to Henry (whom he mainly helped to the throne), De Meulan's political morality was mere statecraft. At the crisis when Curthose's cause was drawing the Anglo-Norman lords from Henry, he gave this advice: "Speak graciously to all your knights: caress them as a father: soothe them: grant all they ask, even should they crave York or London. Do not hesitate to make magnificent promises such as declare a royal liberality. When we come happily to our ends, by God's help, we shall find means to reclaim all we may now depart with." Nor was the call to restitution vague. The title, 'Earl of Leicester,' latterly borne by him, had notoriously been achieved by fraud.

O. Vital. x. 14.

Ib. 18.

See post, p. 129.

I must grant the bias of our chroniclers: I deplore it. Not unfair towards the Conqueror or towards Stephen, while they laud the royal clerk who first committed England to the overreaching policy of Rome, they loathe 'the red king,' '*parum justus aut pius*,' 'the man dreadful in himself and prone to the counsels of evil men.' From their small spite, as from their monstrous malevolence, it is impossible to retrieve him.

J. Sarisb. Vita Anselmi. A.S.Chron.

Contrast to his father and brother may have kindled this celestial ire; for they were sedulous in Church affairs and discreet, he, all too frankly, contemned religion and the religious; noisily defying all manner of checks. And those very conditions

which perverted him may have urged a more real hatred. The leaven of foreign conquest had worked: the reaction towards discipline had subsided; and among the clergy, alien and native, sense of their abasement had become keen. Taxings had grown in weight and frequency; and the people were wholly conscious of their wretchedness. Farther, the Crusades had unsettled men's habits; and, to the view of all, the bonds of civilisation were sundered. Sorrow made the heart bitter: long endurance soured the temper. The magnates revolted, the folk groaned, it was left to the *clerici* to curse. Perked in monastic virtue, these last see in the ruddy ruffian a type of every deadly sin, the root and fruit of every national calamity: flushed with scriptural imagery, they lay the hand on him as on a scapegoat. He bears the sure token of one given over to a reprobate mind; and they uncharitably rejoice when he falls, as it were in the wilderness, 'in the midst of his transgressions, abominated of humanity, abhorred of God.' Nor stopped there: but 'since they had not been able to inflict salutary punishment on him while living, the doctors and prelates, considering his flagitious debaucheries and abrupt end, gave judgment on his corpse.' And the annals are replete with revolting stories of his profanity and vile deeds—with monks' dreams and 'saws' forestalling ruin to 'the soul which the clergy were powerless to save.' 'Jesus Christ would thole it no longer. . . . The night before he was slain, one, in vision, saw the king go into a church fierce and raging and peevishly looking on the folk therein: then to the Rood he started and began to fret and gnaw the vast arms and thighs and

A.S.Chron. O. Vit. x. 14.

W. Malm. De Gestis R. iv. 1.

Cf. Ro. Gloster, Engl. Chron. pp. 417, ed. Hearne.

with his teeth to draw. At last the Rood thrust him with the foot and cast him headlong. . . . That day, in the forest, the Devil was there before him, seen in bodily form: he spake, too, to men of the country.'

But it is in measuring his vices against his father's and his brother's vices that our critics fail. Amazed at his zest in arms, at his fury, shuddering at his will and power to wrong subject and neighbour, they impute a diabolic impulse. Yet the Conqueror's severity had become a proverb among them: his secret poisonings were not hidden from them; and they learned to glose over Beauclerk's 'counsel,' not less mortal than invasion, or drug, or war. Father or brother had destroyed more life, wasted wider lands, than Rufus had destroyed or wasted; and in the article of covetousness, excessive in each, there is no mean by which we could discriminate. We are told how the country writhed under the despot, how the outraged, oppressed, nation fled from him and grew savage: we are told of the 'bloody assizes,' of the espionage, of the mutilations of man and beast, habitual to the 'pacific sovereign:' but stronger terms enhance the rigour of Rufus' reign and were calculated to impress the terror of him on unborn generations. They were rapacious to the height, but 'he would fain be heir to every man, lay and cleric.' 'In his day agriculture failed by reason of the imposts, famine followed: the dying wanted care, the dead were without burial.' 'While building a wall round the Tower of London and rearing the palace at Westminster, he not only abraided but excoriated the people with tribute.' 'All that was odious to God, injurious to man, was common in this

O. Vit. iv. 14. Cont. Gemmet, vii. 33.

Cf. H. Hunt. Chron. viii. O. Vit. xi. 23.

A.S.Chron.

W. Malm. De Gestis R. iv. 1.

Ch. Bec. A.D. 1098.

A.S.Chron.

island in his day.' Yet had the desolation wrought in Northumbria by the sword been far larger and more lasting, and the imposts which effected reduction of Normandy been heavier, manyfold.

Cf. R. Wendover. Eadmer, Hist. Nov. iii. p. 426. Heriman.

Again: the father's chastity stood as a foil to his sons' concupiscence; but, comparing William with Henry, a neat sophistry makes distinction. One suggests, vaguely, that Rufus addicted himself to rape, hints that the lady Eadgyth (afterwards Queen Molde) put on the veil only to avoid his violence. On the other part, however, are the seductions, the desertions, the tabulated concubinages, of Beauclerk. William, unmarried, sensual, coarse, turned his palace into a brothel; nor might lamp or torch betray the riot therein. Henry, married, 'restored the lights;' but, from time to time, within his wife's life, he cohabited with not less than fifteen several women, each of whom bare to him a child or children. None plead personal temperament or any wild excuse for William: but they who held celibacy as an abstract form of purity are content to apologise for Henry thus:

W. Malm. De Gestis R. v.

'*Omnium tota vita obscenitatum Cupidinearum expers, quoniam (ut a consciis accepimus) non effreni voluptate, sed gignendæ prolis amore, mulierum gremio infunderetur, nec dignaretur advenæ dilectationi præbere assensum, nisi ubi semen regium procedere posset in effectum; effundens naturam ut dominus, non obtemperans libidini ut famulus.*'

On the whole, however, a truthful spirit animates our chroniclers. With care, it becomes possible to harmonise their facts and dates: it needs but familiarity with their thoughts and modes of life if one would

reduce their exaggerations, allay their praise or blame and rectify their judgment.

Taking stand amid their surroundings, entering into their feelings, I have told the story of Norman domination with its various incidents as nearly as I could in the tone of these Remembrancers. From their testimony I infer the disintegrate state of Saxon England, the great need here of law and order other than the 'good laws' and ancient customs under which the native dynasty and the economies of an island people had grown inert; while I perceive in the vigour of a new race, albeit the spoiler, a mean to regenerate our commonwealth. I have no other theory.

Assuredly there had been somewhat wanting in the Saxon which the Norman became competent to supply; for, in the subsequent blending of the races the English nation formed itself.

Society must be nursed and chastened betimes, must come out from toy life and the Castle of Indolence to learn the arts of self-reliance, put away its jejune apprehendings, pass through nonage and change its swathings for harness. I look on this era, then, as the early manhood of England:—the wild, flush, passionate, time wherein the brute seems stronger in us than the god, but wherein forces clash and the Persistent masters the Provisional. When the conquerors had freebooted thoroughly, they settled. Having broken through all prescripts, they joined with their victims to organise a state that, in a measure, yet endures. They slaked their savagery in rapine and blood, in sensualities; and they hurried through the phases of baseness and hypocrisy. Such are the moral changes

we realise during these four reigns. To the enthusiasm of the haut invaders, and to the frivolous gait and abominable wickednesses of their sons followed a craven spirit and utter negation of the common weal; and that new-birth which happened to this nation presently is all the more marvellous since it rises out of conditions so distinctly evil.

In these writers William stands before us harsh, rapacious yet not forbidding, wholly; nor without recognition for some greatnesses: as a soldier, courageous to the height, if not chivalrous: as a statesman, true to his purpose, careful of his prize. A king of men, ruling by the sword, austere, aweful, in whom the majesty of the realm might shine awhile. Scarcely heroic, yet capable in his work: captain of a gang of robbers, too, to whom the country was an exchequer: chaste, voracious, silent, friendly, cautious, fearless; whom few of his sort surpass.

Rufus,—in whose time 'men obeyed the king rather than justice,' too coarse to be really magnanimous; potent in the flesh 'as a young bull:' one sinning 'as it were with a cart rope;' who, with the palace-lights, quenched shame—they portray great in arms, in affairs rude; ignorant in all things, offensive; one scarcely redeemed from abhorrence by pity: a projector, not, as his father, fortunate; and with this other difference that, whereas the one utilised the religious sentiment as a social bond, the other defied God and man.

Henry, the clerk and favourite of clerks, clerks show selfish by rule and line, void of natural affections, consummately practised in double-dealing, 'of designs inscrutable.' They reverence him, but they distinguish

not between his successes and the means thereof. Ascribing glory to the Almighty for his three chief gifts, wisdom, victory, wealth, they gloze over the perfidy, the ambition, the avarice, which they note in him. He merited the praise of churchmen by foundations, by address in ecclesiastical concerns, by timely deference to class prejudices. He restored the nightly torches in his palace; but in the blaze of panegyric we discover his demerits.

Cf. H. Hunt, Hist. Ib. Ep. ad Gualt. O. Vit. xi. 11. 23. W. Malm. De Gestis Reg. v.

Stephen they admire while greatly blaming. Aware that through gentleness he ruined peace, they sedulously separate the man from the miseries of his reign. They point to his prime perjury as if it were a peculiar taint in him infecting his cause and withal work out a *Nemesis* through the treasons of his subjects; forgetful that King Henry had caused the nobles to forswear themselves in the matter of the treaty with Duke Robert and had thriven notwithstanding.

H. Hunt. Ep. ad Gualt.

These kings typify their respective times. That severity which depopulated Northumbria and Ytene and that greed which extorted daily 1,060*l.* 2*s.* 6¾*d.* ranged through every manour and homestead in England. That ferocious lust set free unnatural appetites. When the 'Blanche Nef' foundered, innocent men strained the eye and felt as Lot felt when looking for the cities of the plain. That policy which bought the crown at the price of the stolen hoard,—which forged claims to Normandy and to Le Mayne, which prisoned a brother and persecuted that brother's child, which mutilated his own kin and captives of war, which penetrated every man's secrets and, with high hand and sinister, swayed the realm to

O. Vit. iv. 7.

Ib. xi. 23.

behoof of the duchy,—had its bearing on the bloody assizes, upon the burdens laid upon the people by the barons, upon the covetousness, the litigation, the hypocrisies, prevalent, while they forecast the rapines and the frauds, the hideous cruelties, which followed instantly. So, too, faith broken in high places—or the belief that faith had so been broken,—gave an access to general disloyalty. Feudaries learned to defy their lords, mercenaries to break pact, men to betray their relatives, the son to revolt from the father, the brother to plot against the brother.

It is significant of this rife perfidy that the truce of Wallingford dates from a private parley across the stream between Stephen and his rival, none else being within earshot, none else having been consulted or informed; and that the final treaty, sworn to by the principals, by the hierarchy and the magnates, thrice ratified solemnly with homagings and counter-homagings, confirmed by hostages and guaranteed by every contingent interest, is distinguished from all instruments of the sort as 'a very good peace, such as never was in this land.'

* * * * * *

Post, pp. 116, sq.

The incidents of Rufus' death and burial are not related by an eye-witness. I have analysed the tale of his death in my narrative and here observe that time, the order of events and other conditions, as stated by the chroniclers, oppugn the common opinion that this king's corpse, brought to Winchester 'that night,' was laid 'next morning in the cathedral.' 1. If the body were discovered 'at sunset'—7.45 P.M., no 'charcoal-burner's,' or other, cart could have borne it

Thursday, Aug. 2. Friday, Aug. 3. R. Nigri, Chron. II. p. 163.

from the forest to the city ere midnight. 2. Henry had need ingratiate magnates and people and arrange his programme. 3. Solemn questions stood for argument.

I conceive that intelligence of the disaster reached Winchester, with the 'breathless haste' of Henry and William de Bréteuil, about midnight: that, the city being stirred, monks and mendicants formed in procession and went forth to meet the corpse at dawn: that, at a very early hour, convention of the Witan and convocation of the clergy took place in the castle—for there, surely, the barons would meet—and the prelates sate in the Witan as well as in Synod. It had to be determined, by the Witan, whether Henry should succeed to the throne and, by the hierarchy, whether William should be buried as a Christian, deceased. Aug. 2, 3. Aug. 3.

From de Bréteuil's scruples and from the earnest advocacy of the brothers Robert and Roger de Bellomont, I infer neither a prompt nor general accord in the first; rather I assume argument, intimidation, corruption, and much time spent. In point of fact, the Witan did not rise till after burial of Rufus; albeit it may have adjourned to assist in that act. The business of the second may, I think, have been settled more summarily. W. Malm. v.

Now, in due course, on entering the city the funeral cortége would pass through the gate abutting on the castle. And, I picture to myself, it halted there or passed into the palace—even while the Witan, perhaps while the Synod, was in session. For I cannot presume that a rabble, unbidden, would draw the bleeding burden on to the cathedral while the prelates

were adjudicating: nor that any (Henry not excepted) would interfere in a matter especially of clergy.

A.S.Chron. Burial of William preceded formal election of Henry. I do not find that burial preceded the prelates' sentence. I believe it followed thereon. The transactions, in their entirety, seem to have come to A.S.Chron. end by dinner-time—9 A.M.; for Rufus was buried 'in the morning.' The haste is startling throughout—Henry's 'hunger for the empty chair,' the public contempt for defunct royalty,—but it bears on the A.S.Chron. point I have in view. 'After that he was buried, the Witan, who were then near at hand, chose his brother Henry to be king.' The Witan, then, whom I have assembled in the castle, whom I have set for some while in 'gémot,' were (it would appear) present at W. Malm. De Gestis R. iv. 1. the burial; for the burial was 'attended by many of the nobility.' It had been otherwise if interment had taken place in the cathedral.

There is testimony enough that, in the next age, this king's body lay in the cathedral. Yet only one Flo. Wig. Cf. A.S. Chron. H. Hunt. contemporary dates his sepulture there. The burial, as told by the chroniclers, was not necessarily a religious rite; and, surely, no open inhumation in holy ground of one formally pronounced 'unmeritous of absolution' would have been conceded. The clergy were careful of cemeteries as of ceremonies; and A.D. 1108. G. Neubrig. i. 25. when, not long after this, Gerard, Archbishop of York, died, by accident unhouselled, they earthed him outside the church, ignominiously. The charge of sorcery against this prelate, with the proof thereof in that Julius Firmicus' work on astrology was found under his pillow, was a mere accident which but seemingly

takes his case into another region. Death without benediction and without *viaticum* is the fact to be regarded there as here. And I am of opinion that on this August 3 William's unhallowed corpse was not laid 'in the monk's choir, in front of the great altar, nor 'under the tower of the church,' nor yet 'within the precincts of the old minster.' Rather that, in his hunting gear, as he fell—the pheon still in his breast—dishevelled, clotted, as taken from the cart—it might be rolled in lead on the instant—they put him under ground in the castle yard. And (demurring to the 'mortuary chests' theory) I incline to believe that his relics may have been removed thence by Henry de Blois, his nephew, soon afterwards Bishop of Winchester—a fond translator of saints; and, by him, placed under that *dos-d'asne* slab to which tradition points as the Red King's grave.

Ann. Waverley. W. Malm. De Gestis R. iv. 1. O. Vit. x. 14. Flo. Wig. Ann. Winton. R. Nigri, Chron. II. p. 163.

Ann. Winton. fo. 32. A.D. 1150.

THOMAS COBBE.

EASTON-LYS, PETERSFIELD, 1869.

CORRIGENDA.

PAGE	LINE	
1.	4.	*for* Henry I. *read* Henry IV. (Thuringia.)
11.	4.	*for* furthor *read* farther
17.	3.	*for* other *read* others
21.	22.	*for* Maincels *read* Mancels
22.	5.	*for* forbodings *read* forebodings
26.	4.	*for* proferred *read* proffered
26.	28.	*for* pardon *read* freedom
26.	32.	*for* emluments *read* emoluments
27.	31.	*for* Geoffry *read* Geoffrey : also at p. 54 l. 7 and p. 107 l. 26
28.	33.	*for* Eadico *read* Eadric
29.	7.	*for* freeboters *read* freebooters
30.	6.	*for* as well of the *read* as well as of the
31.	5.	*for* Stigand *read* Stigand
32.	16.	*for* Ælgyfu *read* Ælfgifu
32.	25.	*for* Griffyn *read* Griffyth : also at p. 33 l. 32
37.	16.	*erase* comma after Devon and *insert* same after Cornwall, l. 17
40.	32.	*for* Hugh, son of Goz (Lupus) *read* Hugh (Lupus) son of Richard (Goz)
43.	18.	*for* Eades *read* Odo
44.	27.	*for* alone preserved *read* alone have preserved
53.	12.	*erase* and
53.	13.	*for* daughter *read* sister
54.	17.	*after* William de Bréteuil *insert* (Fitz-Osbern)
54.	32.	*after* William *insert* comma
108.	17.	*for* l'Aigle *read* De l'Aigle
111.	3.	three sisters, *see* Table xii.
121.	18.	*for* Vital *read* Vitalis
165.	31.	*for* Enguerand *read* Enguerrand : also at p. 171 l. 18
174.	12.	*for* Echafour *read* Echoufour
188.	12.	*for* capita *read* capite
202.	19.	*for* Evrault *read* Evroult
202.	20.	*for* Echauffé *read* Echaufré
209.	1.	*after* province *insert* mark of quotation ended
221.	27.	*after* laws *insert* mark of quotation ended
242.	14.	*for* amine *read* famine
247.	25.	*for* villains *read* villeins : also at p. 248 l. 9
253.	22.	*for* Lath *read* Láth
271.	16.	*for* Saxon, Roman, *read* Roman, Saxon
288.	31.	*after* Stephen *insert* mark of quotation ended
334.	8.	*for* William *read* Theobald
334.	13.	*for* Hide *read* Hyde

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

		PAGE
A.D. 515-886.	Northmen in France and in England	lv
A.D. 911.	Rolf 'the ganger' and others settle in Neustria: *Terra Normannorum.* They draw towards civilisation	lv
A.D. 918-27.	William (Longue espée) is accepted chief of the Normans . .	lvi
A.D. 936-9.	He takes the feudal oath to the Suzerain: allies with the Counts of Vermandois and of Paris: opposes the King of England and the Count of Flanders	lvii
A.D. 940.	He homages Louis d'Outremer—and revolts	lvii
A.D. 942.	He is treacherously slain	lvii
A.D. 944.	Pagan Danes arrive. Duke Richard (Sans peur) is carried to Lâon by King Louis; but, on escaping, allies with Hugh Count of Paris	lvii
	War between Normans and French: Harold Blaatand; parley .	lvii
	King Louis renounces all claims except that of suzerainty on Normandy and subsequently ratifies all preceding grants under common feudal form	lviii
	The Normans put themselves under commendation to Hugh the Great	lix
A.D. 954-6.	Duke Richard marries Emma daughter of Hugh the Great Count of Paris, sister of Hugh (Capet)	lix
A.D. 991.	Norman-Danes pirate south-east coast of England . . .	lix
	King Æthelred's injunction: English troops landing at Barfleur are defeated	lix
A.D. 994-6.	Duke Richard and the Norman chiefs are grateful to the Church.	lix
A.D. 996.	Duke Richard II. succeeds. Imminent revolt of the Norman people against feudal oppressions	lx
A.D. 1003-6.	Richard reconciles his people: his wars	lx
A.D. 1002.	Æthelred II. marries Emma (Ælfgifu) daughter of Duke Richard (Sans peur). Massacre of the Danes in England . . .	lx
A.D. 1013.	Svend King of Denmark requires Duke Richard II. to aid in his revenge on England. The Normans decline from that act .	lxi
A.D. 1024.	The Normans at this epoch achieve fame	lxi

		PAGE
	Duke Richard III. is poisoned and is succeeded by Robert his brother	lxii
A.D. 1826-8.	Duke Robert's turmoils: his character and death	lxii
A.D. 1035.	The Norman idea of marriage and of legitimacy	lxiii
	The private wars of the Norman chiefs	lxiii
	Duke William II. (*cognomine Bastardus*): his own account of his early life	lxiv
	Of the Norman claims on the county of Le Mayne	lxvi
A.D. 788.	Affairs in England meantime: the Northmen vikings	lxvii
A.D. 1003.	King Svend lands to avenge his people: his continuous ravages	lxvii
	King Æthelred II. pays tribute to the Danish army and victuals	
A.D. 1007.	the Danish fleet	lxvii
	Of Eadric Streona and his kinsmen	lxviii
	Jarl Thorkill lands. Æthelred 'the Unready'	lxviii
A.D. 1008.	The condition of England. The district overrun by Danes	lxix
A.D. 1012.	Archbishop Ælfheah is butchered	lxx
	Farther Danegelt. Æthelred's contract with Jarl Thorkill	lxx
A.D. 1013.	King Svend and his son Cnut land. Submission to Svend	lxx
	Queen Emma and her son refuge in Normandy. King Æthelred	
A.D. 014.	follows them	lxxi
A.D. 1015.	King Svend dies: the Witan recall Æthelred: the terms	lxxi
	King Æthelred routs Cnut	lxxii
	Eadric Strenoa murders Sigeferth and Morkar, chief Thegns of the five burghs	lxxii
	Eadmund (Ironside) marries Sigeferth's widow and seizes the possessions of the Mercian Thegns	lxxii
	Cnut returns and ravages the south coast	lxxii
	Eadmund (Ironside) raises a force which disbands	lxxiii
A.D. 1016.	A general levy avails 'nothing more than it had often done'	lxxiii
	Eadmund and Earl Uhtred raid the north and the western midlands: Cnut raids the eastern midlands	lxxiii
	Northumbria submits to Cnut	lxxiii
	Cnut sails to London. King Æthelred II. dies	lxxiii
	The Witan and citizens of London proclaim Eadmund (Ironside) king: the bishops, abbots, ealdormen and others, convening at Southampton, elect Cnut	lxxiii
	Cnut besieges London	lxxiv
	At Pen in Dorset, Cnut is put to flight by Eadmund	lxxv
	Battle of Sceorstan: Eadric's device: Cnut decamps	lxxv
	Eadric reconciles Eadmund	lxxv
	King Eadmund raises the siege of London: defeats the Danes at Brentford	lxxv
	Cnut again besieges London. Eadmund defeats the Danes at Otwell	lxxv
	Battle of Assendun: Eadric's treachery	lxxvi
	King Eadmund shares England with Cnut	lxxvi
	Eadric murders King Eadmund	lxxvi

		PAGE
A.D. 1017-35.	Cnut is proclaimed King of all England	lxxvii
	Condition of the country	lxxvii
	The sons of King Eadmund are banished	lxxviii
	Cnut marries Emma Ælfgifu widow of King Æthelred	lxxviii
	Agreement to set aside former issue on both parts in favour of children of this marriage	lxxviii
	Danegelt: Witenagemot at Oxford	lxxix
	Peaceful state of England under Cnut	lxxix
	View of Cnut's character by the way	lxxix
	On Cnut's death, one Harold Harefoot proclaimed king north of Thames: next year he is proclaimed king over all England.	lxxxi
A.D. 1037.	The primate refuses to crown him	lxxxii
	Ælfred and Eadward, sons of King Æthelred by Emma, arrive in England. The former, cruelly mutilated, dies: the latter	
A.D. 1036.	retires to Normandy	lxxxii
	King Harold Harefoot dying, Harthcnut, Cnut's son by Emma,	
A.D. 1039.	arrives and is recognised king of England &c.	lxxxiii
A.D. 1042.	Harthcnut's acts and death	lxxxiii
	Eadward (afterward Confessor) is crowned king	lxxxiv
	Of Godwine Earl of Sussex and his family	lxxxiv
	Effect of King Eadward's sympathy with aliens	lxxxiv
A.D. 1051.	Eustace Count of Boulogne's act: Godwine's act thereon	lxxxiv
	The alien party triumph. Godwine and his family are banished	lxxxvii
	William Duke of Normandy arrives on a visit to King Eadward	lxxxvii
	The Welsh rise: Godwine descends hostilely on the south-east: his sons Harold and Leofwine ravage the south-west coast:	
A.D. 1052.	joining forces, these latter confront the royal troops at London	lxxxvii
	Considerations on this crisis. The Witan yield to Godwine and	
A.D. 1054.	restore him and his family. The aliens fly the land	lxxxviii
	Godwine's death. Harold succeeds to his father's earldoms	lxxxix
	Envoys are sent to bring home Eadward Ætheling, surviving son of King Eadmund (Ironside)	xc
	Earl Ælfgar, outlawed, raises troops in Ireland and in Wales: he sacks Hereford. Earl Harold encamps beyond Snowdon:	
A.D. 1055-6.	compels peace. Ælfgar is inlawed	xc
	Tostig is created Earl of Northumbria: his relation to Duke William of Normandy	xci
A.D. 1056.	The Welsh again break out: are again pacified	xci
A.D. 1057.	Earl Ælfgar succeeds his father Earl Leofric in Mercia	xci
	Eadward the Ætheling arrives from Hungary, bringing his son Eadgar Ætheling and his daughters Margaret and Christina: he himself shortly deceases	xci
	Earl Ælfgar is again banished: again, with violence, through aid	
A.D. 1058.	of Griffyth King of North Wales, 'comes in'	xci
A.D. 1063.	Earl Harold's action thereon: Griffyth is slain	xcii
	Earl Harold marries Eadgyth, King Griffyth's widow and daughter of Earl Ælfgar	xcii

		PAGE
	Earl Ælfgar dying is succeeded in Mercia by Eadwin his son	xcii
	Tostig's misconduct in Northumbria: he is banished	xcii
A.D. 1064.	Earldom of Northumbria is granted to Morkere brother of Eadwine	xcii
A.D. 1065.	King Eadward dies. Harold the vice-king is crowned	xciii
A.D. 1066.	Tostig returns with a force. Harold Hardráda joins him in the Humber. Battle of Stanford Bridge. William lands in England	xciii

WILLIAM I.

		PAGE
A.D. 1066.	Examination of the Duke of Normandy's claims to the crown of England	1
	Secret treaty between Duke William and Tostig	12
	The Duke prepares to invade England: his demeanour thereon	12
	He declares his cause to his Parliament: reception of same	13
	His force and his allies: Pope Alexander	14
August.	Movement of troops. Embarkation	15
Sept. 29.	The landing. Purpose and effect of previous invasions and of this	16
	The idea of conquest manifested	17
	Harold meantime at York: his hurried preparations	17
	Battle array of Normans and of Saxons	19
	The onslaught and incidents of the battle	22
	The English army disperses	24
	William awaits submission: then plunders	25
	Eadwine and Morkere affect to support the Ætheling	25
	Certain prelates lead the Ætheling to William	25
	Some chief ealdormen and Londoners yield	25
	Dover and Canterbury submit: folk in Romney otherwise	26
	Some chiefs and prelates submit	26
	The English look on William as possibly fit to be their king	26
	William builds a stronghold in London	26
Dec 25.	He is crowned there: the test of fitness in a king	27
	The circumstances of the crowning: William's oath	27
	Eadwine, Morkere and certain chiefs, submit at Barking	28
	Conciliation: reciprocal intermarriages: the freebooter's passion	29
	Harold's standard is sent to Rome	29
	The property of the English crown is confiscated: monasteries are put under tax	29
	The attitude of antecedent settlers	29
	The Conqueror's first care—earldoms: holds	29
Feb. 21, 1067.	The king takes the Ætheling, Eadwine, Morkere and other hostages, to Normandy	31
	His triumphs there: the Saxon emigration	31

		PAGE
	Oppressions in England: revolts of Eadric, forester; Eustace; Osulf	31
	The Saxons seek help in vain: Saxon and Briton combine against aliens	32
	King William returns: his proclamations: imposts	32
Dec. 6.	Exeter. Incidents of the siege	32
	Coronation of Matilda: her conduct	33
March 23, 1068.	Return of the hostages: the King refuses to ratify his promises and Eadwine and Morkere revolt	33
	Griffyth the Welsh prince and Harold's sons conspire with them	33
	The Normans are united in design: the English are not organised	34
	The Norman form of fuedalism progresses in England	35
	Rebellion beyond Humber and simultaneously in the Bristol Channel	35
	Eadwine and Morkere rise and yield: Harold's three son's land and are driven back: the Ætheling escapes to Scotland. York gives up its keys	35
	Archill. Bishop Ægelwine	35
	The folk flee to forest and moor and grow savage	35
	R. de Comines in Durham: the Bishop: the brand	36
A.D. 1069.	The Ætheling and others come from Scotland: Archill and the sons of Karl	36
	The King disperses them: Fitz-Osbern resists them	36
	The sons of Harold are repelled in Devon: the Ætheling miscarries	36
	Advent of a Danish fleet	36
	Welsh and English under Eadric fire Shrewsbury	37
	Rising in the southern counties: hopes of the natives	37
	William's cruelties at Nottingham	37
	He bribes the Danes: his purpose towards Northumbria	37
	He wears his crown at Christmas	39
A.D. 1069-70.	He renews his raid on the Tees: Waltheof and Cospatric swear fealty	39
	The King wends to Hexham; his heroism by the way	39
	He strengthens York: marches on Chester: mutiny of his troops	40
	The difficulties of this march: he pacifies Stafford, Chester, Salop	40
	He gives the Earldom of Chester to Hugh Lupus 'to hold by the sword'	40
	The King ransacks the churches and distrains all deposits therein	41
A.D. 1070.	Bishop Ægelwine, Archbishop Stigand, Alex. Bishop of Lincoln, Edgar Ætheling with his mother and sisters, Siward, Maerlsweyn and others, fly to Scotland	41
	Malcolm King of Scots levies and ravages Teesdale	
	Malcolm offers marriage to Margaret the Ætheling's sister	43
	Waltheof again swears fealty: with the hand of William's niece he receives certain earldoms	43

		PAGE
	Eadwine and Morkere follow the court	43
	Knights' fees are distributed among the Conqueror's followers, and the English freeholders become vassals or villeins. Thegn becomes a mesne tenant: the feudal system in full force	43
	The Norman Church follows lay precedent	45
April 4.	In synod at Winchester Stigand and other prelates are degraded: aliens are placed in their sees	45
	At *Curia* following, all bishops and abbots are put under the Crown	46
	The King does not acknowledge suzerainty of the Pope	46
	The advantage of the Conquest to the National Church	46
Aug. 15.	Lanfranc raised to primacy	47
	The Danes' maraudings; the disinherited in marsh and wold	47
A.D. 1071.	Eadwine and Morkere fly the court	47
	Hereward the noble Saxon with certain in Ely	47
	The King advances in person: the sorceress	47
	Some are mutilated: Ægelwine is starved: Morkere is chained: Hereward escapes: Eadwine is murdered: Eadric forester reconciles	48
Aug. 15, A.D. 1072.	The King marches against Scotland: Malcolm gives hostages and becomes his liegeman; the Ætheling arranges for himself	48
	The King's position at this time	49
	William's efforts to settle the country countervailed by his avarice	52
	He takes an army of Normans and English abroad: overawes Le Mayne	53
A.D. 1074.	Marriage of Ralf de Guader	53
	Earls Waltheof, Roger and Ralf	53
	Lanfranc absolves Waltheof who divulges a plot	53
	Ralf's earldom escheats: Roger and Waltheof are imprisoned	54
May 31, A.D. 1075.	Roger spurns royal favour: Waltheof is beheaded at Winchester	54
A.D. 1075–9.	Robert Curthose claiming investiture in the duchy is supported	
A.D. 1080.	by the Suzerain: his collision with the King	54
	Revolt at Durham	55
A.D. 1081.	Inroads of the Welsh: Robert de Rhuddlan	56
A.D. 1082.	Odo Bishop of Bayeux: his treason	57
	William does not deny Peter's pence, but refuses homage to the Pope	58
	Reformation of the Church under Lanfranc	58
A.D. 1085.	The King's ecclesiastical policy in harmony with his civil rule	58
A.D. 1086, Aug. 1.	His levies: his rules: he ordains 'Domesday Book;' all landholders swear allegiance	59
A.D. 1087,	After destroying Le Mans, the King is hurt	60
Sept.	The acts of his deathbed and his death: the scenes subsequent	60
	King William's personal aspect	61
	Brief examination of Domesday Book: the crown revenue	63
	The destruction of the country evidenced	63
	Short account of the institutions of the English and Normans	64
	Anglo-Saxon kings, heretogas, ealdormen	64
	Officers of the household	65

PAGE

Personal nobility: the rule of descent how far applicable . . 65
The revenues of ealdormen: incidents of office 65
Of thegns or thanes; of céorls 66
Of the hlaford: of freemen generally: of law: of tenure: of land . 66
Of jurisprudence 68
Of the Norman's tenure of land 70
Of their law 74

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS.)

A.D. 1087. Nature of Rufus' claim to the throne 79
Moral degradation of the people alone prevents a rising . . 79
Sept. 26. Saxons regard Rufus as objectionable to Normans . . . 80
A.D. 1088. Bishop Odo and others invite Duke Robert 81
Rising of Norman nobles: of the Welsh: Rufus summons the loyal: every man '*not unnithing*' comes at call 81
Rochester surrenders 83
A.D. 1089. May 24. Lanfranc dies: Rufus, in prosperity, breaks promise . . . 84
Prince Henry and Robert de Belésme are prisoned by Duke Robert 84
Arming and counterarming in Normandy 85
A.D. 1090. Rufus gains what Robert forfeits 85
Riot in Rouen: magnanimous conduct of Prince Henry . . 85
A.D. 1091. Rufus in power besieges Eu 87
Certain districts are ceded to Rufus: terms of compromise . . 87
Anecdotes of Rufus 88
A.D. 1092. May. The King of Scots breaks the border 88
Rufus and Robert enter Scotland 88
Condition of Northumbria 88
Malcolm's parley with Duke Robert 89
The Ætheling mediates: the King of Scots is bound to fealty . 89
A.D. 1093. Nov. 13. Malcolm again breaks the border and perishes in an ambush . . 89
State of Cumberland: the immigrants 90
The succession to the Scots' crown 90
The Ætheling restores Eadgar under vassalage to the crown of England 91
The sympathetic action of Kelts 91
Rhys-ap-Tydr murdered: Robert Fitz-Hamon 91
The Welsh favour the Normans as opposed to the Saxons . . 92
A.D. 1098. Hugh de Montgomery is shot by Magnus Barfod 93
Rufus sells the earldom of Shrewsbury to Robert de Belésme . 93
Church affairs: building of monasteries and cathedrals . . . 94
Robert Passeflambard 94
Lanfranc's view of 'investiture' 95
Rufus acknowledges neither Pope nor Antipope: under sickness, vows amendment 96

		PAGE
	The historic action centres in Lanfranc and in Anselm	96
	Sketch of Lanfranc's early life	97
	As Primate he considered the interests of the nation	99
	He is the exact complement to King William the Conqueror	99
A.D. 1092.	Of Anselm's early life: proposal to name Anselm Primate: his objections thereto	99
A.D. 1093. Sept. 25	Anselm homages for Canterbury: Flambard: Rufus refuses to sanction Anselm's journey to Rome	102
A.D. 1094. Mar. 12.	General council at Rockingham: laymen uphold Anselm	103
	The arrangement about the pall	103
	Anselm raises his voice against certain sins: the fashion of shoes	104
	Anselm accepts the Roman theory of duty: expatriates himself	104
	Rufus, rising from sick bed, resumes his vices	106
	He unfurls his standard at Eu: summons 20,000 English: bribes the Suzerain	106
	Position of affairs in Normandy: rebellion in England: Robert de Mowbray	107
	Incidents: punishment of the rebels	108
	Disaffection: the Crusade is preached	109
	Duke Robert mortgages Normandy: the cost to England	110
	Rufus in possession of Normandy: his arrangement with Flanders: his claim on Le Mayne	110
	'The Peace of God:' Hélie Count of Le Mayne	111
A.D. 1098. June, July.	War in Le Mayne: Hélie in Rufus' presence	111
A.D. 1099.	Hélie in arms again: Rufus in New Forest	114
	Rufus received in triumph at Touques and at Bonneville	114
	His last acts	114
Pentecost.	Forest of Ytene: Rufus is killed: analysis of surroundings	115
A.D. 1100. Aug. 2.	Prognostics: Rufus' personal aspect: anecdotes of him	117
	Of the ecclesiastical benefices in his hand	120

HENRY I.

A.D. 1100. Aug. 2.	Henry spurs from New Forest to Winchester and demands the keys of the horde	123
	Henry makes gracious promises	124
Aug. 3.	After Rufus' burial the Witan choose Henry king	124
Aug.	Henry is crowned in London: his oath: fealty sworn to him:	124
	He publishes a charter of liberties	124
	He restores the lights in the palace: shuts up Passeflambard	126
Sept. 13.	He recalls Anselm	126
Nov.	He marries Eadgyth the Ætheling's sister: public joy	127
Sept.	Duke Robert returns to Normandy: reference to treaty A.D. 1091: Robert's claim to the throne	127
A.D. 1101.	Many Anglo-Norman barons exchange fealty	128

		PAGE
Feb. 1.	Passeflambard escapes from the Tower	128
	Duke Robert threatens invasion: few Normans, all the Saxons, with Henry	128
July 18.	Duke Robert lands at Portsmouth: reconciliation of the brothers	128
	Arrangement between them under oath of twelve barons on either part	129
	Henry retracts pardons	129
A.D. 1102.	Robert de Belésme	129
	Duke Robert's interview with Henry: he remits the price of his birthright	130
	Henry prosecutes De Belésme: character of Robert de Belésme	130
Spring.	De Belésme openly revolts: outlawry: Arundel	132
	Meantime Duke Robert, under treaty, at Vignats	132
Summer.	Henry at siege of Bridgenorth	133
	The barons seek to mediate: the English folk caution the King	133
	W. Pantoul: Bridgenorth surrenders: Shrewsbury	133
	De Belésme, yielding, gets safe conduct: the Montgomery family extruded	134
	Eustace Count of Boulogne marries Mary the Queen's sister	135
Sept. 29.	Ecclesiastical affairs: certain abbots divested	135
A.D. 1103.	Of married priests	136
	Anselm refuses to consecrate prelates invested by lay hand	137
April 27. A.D. 1104.	Conduct of certain bishops therein: appeal to Rome thereon: prognostics	137
	Private wars in Normandy: Henry resolves to subject the duchy: De Belésme ferments Normandy: Duke Robert's attitude	138
	William Earl of Cornwall, Count of Mortagne, joins De Belésme	140
A.D. 1105.	Henry lands at Barfleur: the Bishop of Séez's sermon: anecdotes of Duke Robert	141
	Henry declares himself protector of the 'Inheritance'	141
	He besieges Bayeux: acquires Caen: threatens Falaise	141
A.D. 1105-6.	Henry meets Robert at Cinteaux; Robert cedes Evreux	142
A.D. 1106.	Taxes: oppressions: discontent: renewal of charters	143
	Consent to reduce Normandy	143
Before Aug.	King Henry besieges Tinchebrai: Duke Robert summoned	143
	The abbot of Dive's trick	144
	The Duke approaches to relieve Tinchebrai; religious men deprecate battle: King Henry's *ultimatum*	145
	The monks' view of Robert Curthose	146
	Battle array: the fight: De Belésme flies	147
	Duke Robert, W. de Mortagne, the Ætheling and others, taken: Falaise surrenders: William the Clito delivered up: Rouen and other castles submit to Henry: the Conqueror's prediction is verified	147
A.D. 1107.	The Ætheling released: Robert and others sent to prison	148
	Passeflambard is restored to Durham: Robert de Belésme makes advantageous terms: not easy to justify King Henry in these matters	149

		PAGE
	The Norman baronage fret under his rule: Henry resides chiefly in Normandy	150
	Character of Henry's claim to Le Mayne: erroneous view of this transaction: legal argument thereon	150
	Change of relations with France; King Louis enters Rochefort: withstands Henry's encroachments	152
	Robert de Belésme imprisoned for life: the Clito's cause	153
Aug. 1.	The vexed matter of 'investiture' again	154
	The King surrenders his prerogative: terms of compromise	154
Aug. 11.	Archbishop of York vows submission to Archbishop of Canterbury: bishops elect receive consecration	154
A.D. 1108-9. Christmas.	The prelates press the Roman law of secular celibacy	155
	Anselm dies: Henry sequestrates the temporalities for five years	156
A.D. 1109. April 21.	The chapter of Anglo-Norman history	156
	Punishment of thieves, robbers, coiners: new law on the coin: no evidence of social progress	157
Jan. 13.	Emperor Henry V. demands Princess Matilda in marriage: tax of 3s. on every hide of land: prognostics accordingly	158
A.D. 1111. A.D. 1112-3.	King Henry does not wear his crown: he goes abroad for nearly two years	158
A.D. 1113-4. A.D. 1115.	The King holds Christmas in the new palace, Windsor: mid-summer campaign in Wales: Henry again crosses sea: stagnation: portents	159
A.D. 1116.	Ralf, Archbishop of Canterbury: Thurstan, of York: their quarrel	159
A.D. 1115.	The King invests Ralf by ring and staff	160
A.D. 1116. Mar. 19, 20.	All chief men in Normandy having homaged Prince William, all	
A.D. 1118. May 1.	England homages him in *Curia*	160
	Queen Matilda (Eadgyth) dies: some account of her	160
	Complications in Normandy: William Count d'Evreux and wife: W. Clito under care of Hélie de S. Saens: Norman and other magnates and folk espouse the Clito's cause	161
	Almeric de Montfort urges the Count of Anjou: Theobald of Blois on Henry's part resists King Louis	162
	Truce between Henry and Fulke: betrothment: pardons	162
A.D. 1114.	Louis and Henry meet at Gisors: Louis invests Henry in the county of Belésme and in the duchy of Bretagne	163
May 1. A.D. 1118. Oct.	Seigneurs of Belésme resist: Almeric de Montfort gets the citadel of Evreux: revolt of Norman nobles in the Clito's interest	163
July.	Henry garrisons with English: Baldwin Count of Flanders is wounded: Fulke Count of Anjou in the field	165
	Territories of Belésme granted to Stephen of Blois	165
	Richer de l'Aigle's compact with King Louis	166
Sept. 3.	Ralf the Red rallies King Henry's adherents: false rumour of revolt in Rouen	166
	Henry is surrounded by spies and enemies	167

		PAGE
Nov.	He again approaches L'Aigle and is repulsed: Stephen rescues his brother Count Theobald: Henry is struck	168
	The Count of Anjou takes Alençon	168
	Eustace de Bréteuil and Juliana his wife	168
A.D. 1119.	King Henry delivers his grandchildren to be mutilated	169
Feb.	Bréteuil townsfolk open their gates to Henry	170
	Juliana escapes through the ditch; Eustace's lands escheat	170
	People of Hiesmes &c. recede: certain nobles renounce fealty: King Louis takes Andeley by stratagem	171
	Relative power of King Henry and of the Clito's friends	172
June 17.	Baldwin VII. Count of Flanders dies of his wound: Almeric de Montfort in arms	172
June.	Prince William marries Matilda daughter of the Count of Anjou: the terms of marriage contract misstated and corrected	173
	Henry attacks Evreux: the bishop's casuistry	175
	King Louis lays siege to Dangu: to Châteauneuf: enters Normandy in power: Henry advances to Noyon	175
	Battle of Brémule: King Louis flies: cause of the little slaughter	176
	Almeric de Montfort consoles King Louis	179
Sept. 17.	King Louis bids the ban: army assembles at Bréteuil	179
	Ralf the Red: the French army in retreat: raidings: submission to Henry	179
Oct.	Church affairs: popes and antipopes: Calixtus II. at Rheims: Catholic council	181
	Thurstan Archbishop of York consecrated by the Pope: incidents of the council	182
	English prelates are forbidden to lay any grievance before it	183
	King Louis in person complains of King Henry	183
Oct. 22. Oct. 26. Oct. 30.	The Pope leaves the council: he has an interview with the Emperor: sentence of excommunication against the Emperor: decree against priests' marriages	184
	Henry makes arrangement with Almeric de Montfort: Eustace and Juliana are reconciled: others make peace	185
	Pope Calixtus meets Henry at Gisors: urges redintegration of Duke Robert and his son: and peace with France: Henry's pleas satisfy the Pope	186
A.D. 1120.	The Pope makes peace between the kings	186
	King Louis accepts Prince William as his vassal in Normandy: chief men in Normandy homage him	187
A.D. 1120. Nov. 24, 25.	King Henry embarks for England: the 'Blanche Nef'	188
	Prince William and the nobles on board: the 'Blanche Nef' founders: one person only is saved	188
	The tidings reach King Henry	192
	Effect on popular imagination: sense of divine judgment	192
A.D. 1121.	Review of King Henry's character: Nemesis	193
Jan. 6.	Marries Alice of Louvaine: holds court at Pentecost	194
Jan. 29. Summer.	Leads an army into Wales: is wounded	194

		PAGE
	Fulke Count of Anjou reclaims his daughter Matilda and her dowry: betroths his daughter Sibylla to the Clito and gives Le Mayne in dowry	195
A.D. 1122–3.	Almeric de Montfort engages chief Normans to revolt	195
	W. de Roumere: Waleran and Robert de Bellomont	195
A.D. 1123. Sept.	Waleran gives his sisters in marriage to malcontents	196
	King Henry surprises Hugh de Montfort: siege of Pont Audemar	196
	Conspirators attempt Gisors: the king advances: county of Evreux judicially declared forfeit	197
A.D. 1124.	Gain to Henry in this campaign	198
	Battle of Bourgteroude: rout and capture	199
April.	Doom of the rebels: the practice of mutilation as then viewed	200
	Luke de la Barre: William Count de Mortagne	201
	Morin du Pin ineffectually rises: Seigneurs of Lisieux and others rally: but retire	201
	The Clito has no open adherents in Normandy	202
	King Louis is restrained by the Emperor: Fulke is alarmed: the Clito wanders abroad: King Henry's intrigues prevail	202
	The Pope forbids the Clito's marriage: the Emperor dies childless.	203
A.D. 1121–2.	Inanity of English chronicle at this time	204
A.D. 1123.	Death of Robert Bloet Bishop of Lincoln	204
Feb. 2.	Election of William Curboil to the primacy: the Pope is bribed to give the pall and blessing	205
Easter.	The see of Lincoln given to Alexander, Bishop Roger's nephew	205
	The King in Normandy during two years and more	205
A.D. 1124.	Unseasonable weather here: price of corn: value of coin: the chief justiciary hangs 44 thieves and robbers: distress of the country	205
A.D. 1125.	All the moneyers in England are mutilated	206
Easter.	Advent of Cardinal John of Crema: Synod at London: 'investitures': priests' marriages: exposure of Roman morals	206
	The Pope grants to the Primate office of vicar-general for England and Scotland	208
	Famine: disease: floods in England	208
A.D. 1126.	The king returns: widow Matilda: David King of Scots	208
A.D. 1126–7.	Quarrel at Christmas between the metropolitans	208
Jan.	King Henry takes oath of all chief men to sustain Matilda	209
	The Clito's prospects brighten: he weds Jeanne	209
	King Louis grants him certain lands coveted by Henry: the Clito is well received on the border: the Flemings choose him to be their count: the circumstances	210
Pentecost.	On intelligence of this, Henry sends Matilda to contract marriage with Geoffrey Count of Anjou	211
	Henry's intention herein	211
A.D. 1128. Aug. 20.	King Henry knights Geoffrey: composes a treaty: Henry claims Flanders: sends Stephen of Blois to harrass the Flemings: raises up adversaries to the Clito-count	212
July.	Diederic in the field: Stephen joins hands with the Clito	213

		PAGE
	Character of the Clito: his death: his dying request to the king	214
	Diederic, now Count of Flanders, treats with King Henry	215
	Insinuation of the King of England's rights in Flanders	215
	Norman nobles now submit: W. de Roumere: W. de Meulan and Hugh de Neufchatel are released: Waleran is received to intimacy	215
June 10.	Marriage of Matilda with Geoffrey solemnised	216
Sept. 29.	After a few days, Matilda, repudiated, returns to Rouen: Henry with his daughter returns to England	216
	Conference in London on 'God's right': wives of priests to be put away: the conventers delegate authority in the matter to the King: Henry mitigates law: and for money dispenses	216
A.D. 1130.	The see of Winchester is given to Henry de Blois: the sees of Durham and Hereford lie vacant	218
Sept. 29.	The King dedicates Canterbury cathedral and sails	218
	Pope and antipope: Henry accepts Innocent	218
Sept. 8, 1131.	*Curia* at Northampton: Geoffrey claims his wife	218
A.D. 1132.	Great murrain in cattle: trifling events of this year	219
A.D. 1133.	King Henry goes abroad and returns not	219
Aug. 3, 1134.	Duke Robert dies in Cardiff: is buried in Gloster	219
	Disagreements between Henry and Geoffrey	219
A.D. 1135. Nov. 25.	King Henry sickens: his contrition: his affairs: his death	220
	Twenty thousand persons carry his corpse to Rouen: treatment of it	
A.D. 1136. Jan. 6.	He is buried at Reading: his charity covers his sins: his personal aspect	221

STEPHEN.

	Female rule unknown to Saxon and Norman	225
	King Henry did not designate Matilda in common form, uncertainly appointed her by testament: neither common form nor testament binding however	226
	By Anglo-Saxon law the throne lay vacant: feudal custom in Normandy: the suzerain's right	226
	Henry constrained his subjects: the oath examined: the rights of the people	226
	Election of Stephen typical	228
A.D. 1135. Dec.	Stephen lands: is repulsed from Dover: from Canterbury: is received triumphantly in London	228
	The council's ground for electing him: their right: his aptness: they oblige him	228
	Comparison of Stephen with Henry: with Harold: his claim transcends: the idea of female rule not conceived	229
	Stephen pacifies the country: riots rife: the late king's porter	230
	Stephen is received at Winchester: Bishop Henry de Blois, his brother: W. Pont de l'Arche gives up the horde	230

		PAGE
	Amount of treasure: the nation accepts Stephen	231
	Primate William's caution: he objects the oath: Stephen's partisans' agreement: Hugh Bigod's testimony: feeling of the assembly	231
Dec. 26. A.D. 1136.	Public sense asserts its independence: Stephen consecrated: magnates adhere: grants: presents	232
	Robert Earl of Gloster and others still abroad	233
Jan. 6.	King Henry's remains brought to burial: Stephen's royal progress	233
	Welsh had broken out: and Scots: and Baldwin de Redvers	233
	Stephen marches to the Scots' border: arranges peace with David: King of Scots' son Henry created Earl of Huntingdon	233
After Easter.	Robert Earl of Gloster homages: at Oxford bishops swear: Pope and King of France and Count Theobald are content	234
	Stephen confirms his coronation oath: the text of it: the witnesses attesting	234
	H. Bigod: Robert de Badington: Baldwin de Redvers revolts: the king besieges the latter in Exeter: distress of the garrison: surrender of Exeter	236
	King Stephen holds pleas of the forest	239
	State of Wales: Richard Fitz-Gilbert murdered: Stephen's action thereon: famine, murrain, slaughter	240
	England tranquillised in some sort	242
Nov. 20. A.D. 1135–6. A.D. 1136. Lent: May: May 18.	Affairs in Normandy: Matilda obtains some castles: Theobald Count of Blois advances claim: W. Talevas: magnates resolve not to separate duchy from realm: popular risings against the Angevins: private wars in Normandy: Gilbert de Clare and others warring	244
July.	Count Theobald lays siege to Pont S. Pierre: Rouen on fire	246
Sept. Sept. 20. Sept. 29.	The Count of Anjou enters Normandy: his allies: acts of the Guerribecci: Normans hate Angevins	246
Oct. 1, 2, 3. Mar., 1137.	After thirteen days marauding, Count Geoffrey retreats: Stephen lands in Normandy: is welcomed	247
May.	Stephen summons the Suzerain: subsidises Flemings: subdues certain castles: his son Eustace invested in the duchy	248
	The Count of Anjou harries Normandy again	249
April 10.	Robert Earl of Gloster, meditating revolt, lands in Normandy	249
	W. D'Ypres commands Stephen's Flemish auxiliaries	249
June.	Normans and Flemings come to blows: the army disperses	250
July.	Geoffrey accepts 10,000 marks in bar of Matilda's claim: Theobald accepts an annuity for resignation of his claim	250
Aug.	Louis (Florus) marries Eleanor of Guienne	250
Advent.	King Stephen sieges certain castles: returns to England	250
Dec. 24. A.D. 1138.	Plot revealed by Nigel Bishop of Ely: the king attacks Bedford: disaffection spreads: leagues with Welsh: and with Scots	251
	Scots' barbarous inroad	252
April 10.	Council at Northampton	252
May 10, 13.	Stephen's progress to Gloster: fealties: marches on Hereford	252
June.	Geoffrey Talbot: Hereford surrenders: Weobley	253

		PAGE
	Robert Earl of Gloster by heralds renounces fealty and friendship: his orders to the Bristol garrison	253
	List of castles and towns in possession of the confederates	253
	Bristol city: Bath: Talbot prisoned: the bishop restores him	254
	From Bristol radiate the horrible incidents of civil war	255
	King Stephen summons the militia: arrives at Bath: holds council of war nigh Bristol: treacherous arguments	255
	Castle Carey surrenders to Stephen: Harptree: Dudley	255
	He storms Shrewsbury, and hangs some chief men: other movements of the King: he in the west: the Queen in the east: Dover yielded to the Queen: Leeds: the King's Herculean labours	256
	Milo Constable of Gloster leagues with Earl Robert: the appalling condition of England	257
A.D. 1138. After Easter. June 10.	The Scots make a third incursion: at Clitheroe they destroy the first division of the royal army: King David in Yorkshire: English traitors	259
	Archbishop Thurstan bids the ban: all take oath of fealty: roll of the loyal: Bruce and Balliol renounce King David	259
Aug. 22.	The English Standard: the Bishop of the Orkneys hallows the English army	260
	The Scots join battle: incidents: criticism on the numbers slain	261
	The Danes viking: Stephen destroys them in detail	264
A.D. 1139.	King Stephen in power marches into Scotland: compels terms	264
April 9.	Treaty of Durham: Prince Henry of Scots, Earl of Northumbria: concerning the earldom of Huntingdon	264
April 30. May.	Stephen and Henry of Scots at Worcester: at Ludlow	266
Oct.	The Count of Anjou besieges in Normandy	266
Advent.	Theobald of Bec Archbishop of Canterbury	266
A.D. 1139.	Stephen progresses to Oxford: rumours of Gloster and Matilda: the hydra character of the rebellion: King Stephen's earls	267
	Treason under the mitre: Roger Bishop of Sarum: his antecedents: character: genius: he builds castles: his son Roger le Poer	270
	Bishop Roger's nephews: Alexander: Nigel: none richer or more powerful than these three prelates: the lay magnates jealous of them: impute treason	273
July 22–4	Council at Oxford: riot: presumed treason: Nigel escapes to Devizes: Roger and Alexander arrested: Roger le Poer in custody.	273
	The King marches on Devizes: the castles of Sarum, Sherborne, Malmesbury, yield	275
	Roger le Poer haltered: parley between Bishops Roger and Nigel: Maude of Ramsbury delivers up Devizes: the bishops submit: the act impassions the clergy	275
	Opinions on the point	276
Aug. 29.	Synod of Winchester: H. de Blois, legate, adopts the bishops' cause: Alberic de Vere charges their treason	276
Aug. 30, 31.	The legate's sophistry: Archbishop of Rouen avoids the plea	278
	Decree of synod: Stephen's conduct thereon	279

		PAGE
	Insurrection continues: W. de Mohun at Dorcester: Stephen in Somerset: W. Fitz-Odo: H. de Tracey	279
	B. de Redvers lands at Wareham: Stephen marches on Corfe	280
Sept. 30.	Rumour of invasion: Robert and Matilda land at Arundel	280
	The attitude of the church: the King unfit to cope with surroundings	280
	Matilda and Robert welcomed by the Queen Dowager	282
	The Earl arms: England alarmed: Stephen unshaken	282
	The Earl passes by night: escapes Stephen: he parleys with the legate by the way (?)	280 282
	The legate joins Stephen before Arundel: counsels: parleys: Queen Alice denies treason: Matilda escorted	282
	The Earl meets Bryan Fitz-Count at Wallingford: he is received in Gloster by Milo, constable: Matilda joins them: Bryan and Milo fortify in Matilda's behalf	284
	R. Fitz-Hubert burns Malmesbury	284
	Stephen builds two forts over against Wallingford: he retakes Malmesbury: assaults Trowbridge	284
	Milo destroys the royal garrison before Wallingford: all hostile to Stephen rally: Matilda receives homage	284
	Gloster becomes head-quarters of rebellion	285
Nov. 13.	Scene at Worcester by an eye witness	285
	Waleran Count of Meulan retaliates	286
Dec.	Qualified fealties: local terrorism	287
	The King inglorious in many parts: Devizes: Stephen's qualities inapt	287
Dec. 4.	Roger Bishop of Sarum dies: the canons give his assets: Stephen restores the bishop's appropriations	288
A.D. 1138. Oct.	Meantime Normandy wrestles: raids: Count of Anjou withstood by R. de Lucy: Geoffrey sacks the country: scene at Touques: the Norman seigneurs join in pillaging the folk	289
A.D. 1139. Nov.	Rotrou of Perche on Stephen's behalf expels some	290
A.D. 1139-40. After Christmas.	The Isle of Ely: Bishop Nigel a man of blood: the King enters the isle by stratagem: the hireling fleeth	291
	Civil war gets access of bitterness	292
Feb. 5.	Thurstan Archbishop of York dies: the King takes the realm's affairs into consideration	292
Feb.	Betrothal of Prince Eustace and Constance of France	292
Mar. 20.	Eclipse of the sun described	293
	W. Fitz-Richard cedes Cornwall to R. de Dunstanville: Stephen recovers his forts: sets Alan of Bretagne there: Earl of Gloster attempts to waylay the King: draws off to Bristol: the King reduces many traitors' castles	293
	Ro. Fitz-Hubert scales Devizes: J. Fitz-Gilbert in Marlborough:	294
Pentecost.	The King in the Tower of London: neglected: abortive conference	295
Aug. Sept.	Geoffrey Talbot: Nottingham sacked: the legates' motion for peace abortive	295
	Ranulf Earl of Chester: W. de Roumere: their claim on Lincoln	296

		PAGE
A.D. 1140–1.	Stephen spends Christmas at Lincoln: reconciles: a stratagem: Ranulf gets to Chester: to Gloster: homages Matilda . .	298
A.D. 1141.	The Earl of Gloster, Milo, the Welsh and the feudaries of Chester rally	299
Feb. 2.	Omens on Candlemas Day	299
	The enemy in sight: Stephen arrays: form of the battle of Lincoln: speeches: the battle: Stephen's exploits: the King is taken: the city of Lincoln is spoiled and ravished: the citizens drowned: King Stephen disarming: baseness of some magnates: the King brought before Matilda: imprisoned in Bristol	299
	Wm. D'Ypres and others escape to the Queen in Kent . . .	304
Feb. 16.	The legate and certain others trend to the Angevins . . .	304
Mar. 1. Mar. 2.	Matilda holds court at Gloster: procession to Cirencester: to Winchester: conference in the open plain: oath and vow . .	304
	Solemn procession to cathedral: the castle: the insignia and horde: Matilda proclaimed 'Sovereign lady and Queen': blessings and curses	305
Easter.	Matilda's court at Wilton: Archbishop Theobald declines: King Stephen suffers all to bend to exigencies	305
Lent.	The Count of Anjou learning these things enters Normandy: reaction there: conference at Mortagne: duchy offered to Count Theobald: Theobald's demand on Anjou	305
	Popular feeling and national strength on Stephen's side: catastrophe of Lincoln affects the public mind: venality prevails .	307
April 6, 8.	At a convention at Winchester the legate tergiversates: the clergy 'to whose rights it pertains' elect Matilda	307
April 9.	The Londoners claim that the King be set free: one Christian exhibits the Queen's entreaty in that behalf	309
April 10.	Royalists are excommunicated: Londoners consider: Queen arms: Henry de Blois' speech examined	210
May 4.	Matilda received at Reading: sounds the castellan D'oyley: Oxford surrendered to her: Earl of Warwick: progress . . .	313
	The citizens of London almost noble: Matilda treats: they procrastinate	313
June 24.	Matilda received in procession at Westminster: through unsufferable pride she alienates all hearts: she imperiously demands an enormous supply from London	313
	The Queen again petitions: Matilda rejects all advice . . .	315
	The Londoners ill-content: magnates stand aloof	315
	King Stephen is chained, possible ground of this	315
	The Queen marches from Kent: halts in Southwark: legate holds friendly converse with her: absolves the royalists: promulgates objections to 'the Empress'	315
	Matilda presses the Londoners: citizens spoil the palace: Matilda rides to Oxford: her partisans quit her by the way . . .	316
	The Queen enters London amid acclamations	316
	The Earl of Gloster rides to Winchester: Matilda at Gloster .	317

		PAGE
	Milo Fitz-Walter created earl of Hereford: Milo and Matilda enter	
Aug. 2.	the castle of Winchester	317
	The legate renounces: scene in the city	317
	Stephen's friends rally: his earls: Matilda's party. the fort at Wherwell	318
Sept. 14.	The armies without the wall tournay: famine within	319
	The Londoners arrive: Matilda steals out 'in dismay': the troops follow: Gloster in rear: Stephen's earls cut in: Robert Earl of Gloster is taken: the pursuit: the spoil	319
	Matilda mounting male fashion reaches Devizes: the earl is sent under guard to Rochester: sack of Wherwell	320
	The Londoners ransack Winchester	320
	Waleran Count of Meulan treats with the Count of Anjou: he gives up Falaise and Montfort: from Seine to Risle	321
Nov. 1, 3.	Proposal to change the earl for the King: mutual distrust	321
Dec. 7.	The king and the earl are set free: the English people glad	322
	Synod at Winchester: the Pope's letter: the legate excuses: Stephen complains of ingratitude	324
	The Legate calls 'on the part of God and the Pope to aid': suggests anathema on all save 'the lady of the Angevins': Matilda's public	
A.D. 1142.	charge of treason against the legate	324
	Matilda at Oxford: rallies and fortifies: secret counsel	325
	Geoffrey distrusts	325
	Gloster takes hostages to Anjou: aids Geoffrey: brings over Prince	
Easter.	Henry	325
Sept. 26.	King and Queen at York: Stephen ill: report of his death	326
	Oxford most defensible: the King forces entry: he presses the siege	
Dec.	of the castle: Gloster at Cirencester	327
A.D. 1143.	Matilda crosses Isis on the ice: gets to Wallingford	328
Lent.	Stephen fails at Wareham: Wilton: council at London	328
July. 1.	Royal standard raised at Wilton	329
	Earl of Gloster attacks: rout of Winton: Stephen and legate fly: sack of Winton: splendid trophies	329
	Martel yields Sherborne: Matilda's party prosper	330
	H. de Tracy: inconsistency of Englishmen	330
	Balance of power: other considerations	331
	Misery of the country at height	332
	Buccaneering bishops	333
	Ro. Bishop of Hereford excommunicates: effect of this on Milo	
Nov.	the earl: destruction of the wicked	333
	Legate sends certain bishops to Rome: he follows: jealousies between legate and primate	334
A.D. 1143, A.D. 1144.	Geoffrey Mandeville revolts: Stephen de Mandeville in Devon: Ro. Marmyon: Earl of Chester: John Fitz-Gilbert: Philip of Gloster: W. de Dover	334
	The king munitions Malmesbury: encamps near Tetbury: the barons prevail to raise the siege	337

		PAGE
	Stephen surprises Hugh Bigod: quells Marmyon: R. Marmyon and Geoffrey Mandeville perish in their sins	337
	The monks write under great excitement	338
	One Turgis holding Waldene is captured: W. de Pincney is prisoned by Matilda	339
	W. de Dover goes on crusade: Philip of Gloster: his daring	339
A.D. 1145.	Faringdon castle built: Stephen besieges it	340
A.D. 1146.	Gloster does not relieve: surrender: Stephen master of the situation	340
	Ranulf Earl of Chester offers peace: mutual oaths: Ranulf serves at Wallingford: grounds of suspicion against him	341
	Philip of Gloster adheres to the King: harries his father's lands: he seizes Musard: and Ro. de Dunstanville	341
	Efforts at compromise: arrogant demands: the Caldoets	342
	Walter Earl of Hereford seizes Roger Harding of Berkeley	342
	The Crusade is preached	343
A.D. 1146-7.	Earl of Chester betrays himself: the council seize him: barons of the palatinate in his behalf: Ranulf, liberated, again breaks out: attempts Lincoln: Gilbert de Clare joins the insurgents: Stephen humbles him	343
	Stephen at Lincoln wears his crown at Christmas: superstition	345
A.D. 1147.	Ranulf again attempts Lincoln	345
Oct. 31.	Matilda and her son asylum at Bec: Geoffrey invades Normandy: he drives Prince Eustace home: building of castles still	345
A.D. 1149.	Robert Earl of Gloster dies: Alexander Bishop of Lincoln dies	345
Aug. 1.	Prince Henry passing to Scotland is knighted by King David at Carlisle: nobles of the west country join him: Eustace harries their lands	346
	Stephen at York: he joins Eustace in Worcester	347
A.D. 1150.	King Louis returns from crusade: Geoffrey cedes Normandy to Henry	347
Mar. 1.	Discord between Louis and Geoffrey: Louis with Eustace besieges Pont de l'Arche: Bernard of Clairvaux arranges a peace: the suzerain accepts Henry	347
	Meantime at privy council earls and barons homage Eustace: Primate Theobald achieves the legatine authority	347
A.D. 1150-1.	The king turns his arms again on Worcester: builds two forts: Robert Earl of Leicester destroys them	348
Lent, 1152	A hard winter: Theobald Count of Blois dies: Stephen's queen dies	348
Mar. 18.	Magnates homage Eustace: the primate and bishops are contumacious	348
May 18.	King Louis separates from Eleanor of Guienne	349
June 24.	Henry, now Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, marries Eleanor	349
Aug. 1. A.D. 1152-3.	Louis with Eustace storms: Duke Henry ravages	349
Midwinter.	King Stephen reduces Newbury: beleaguers Wallingford: builds a fort on the bridge	350
	Duke Henry makes peace with Louis: descends on England	350

		PAGE
A.D. 1153.	England 'quivers' at his coming: his force: his movements	350
	Stephen confronts him at Malmesbury: retreats	351
	Henry marches to relieve Wallingford: entrenches round Crowmarsh	351
	Stephen bids the ban: treacherous nobles: the rivals' interview	352
	Henry takes Reading and other places: Stephen, Ipswich	353
Aug. 10.	Prince Eustace dies: his character	353
	Ranulf Earl of Chester dies: David King of Scots and others die	354
Nov. 7.	Clergy mediate: general council: arrangement for the succession	354
A.D. 1153-4.	Peace proclaimed: processions: rejoicings: peace ratified at Westminster and at Oxford	354
	Henry de Tracey: Walter de Pincney	357
Oct. 24.	King Stephen at Dover: dies	357
	Of his personal aspect: of his issue	357
	Note on King Stephen's character from the Chronicles	358
	Note on the ecclesiastical history of this period	361

CONTENTS OF GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

TABLE			
I.	Pedigree of the Kings of England and Dukes of Normandy, A.D. 978-1154		
II.	—	Illegitimate issue of Richard I. Duke of Normandy	
III.	—	Illegitimate issue of William II., Henry I. and Stephen, Kings of England	
IV.	—	Norman Seigneurs Breteuil, Toeni-Conches	
V.	—	—	Bellomont
VI.	—	—	Grantmesnil, Giroie
VII.	—	—	Evreux, Montfort-Amaury
VIII.	—	—	Montgomeri
IX.	—	—	Mowbray, Albini, Perche, L'Aigle
X.	—	—	Aufray, Estoteville, Gournay
XI.	—	—	Maule, Montpinçon
XII.	—	Counts of Le Mayne	

follow the Introduction.

INTRODUCTION.

ALREADY, during more than three centuries and a half, Northmen Vikings had infested the Frankish provinces of Neustria, when Rolf (Rollo) a Dane, chief of a crew of venturers, captured Bayeux. The 'ganger,' as he was called since he went a-foot—no horse being able to bear his weight,—had already pirated England—perhaps once wintered here,—but in the act of overthrowing a city colonised by Saxons on the Gallic shore and in seizing to his bed Popa, daughter of its count, Rolf forecast that greater conquest of our race which his descendant in the sixth generation achieved.

A.D. 515–886. Dudo de S. Quintin Bouq. viii. 241 sq. Flo. Wig. O. Vit. iii. 1. Asser. A.D. 876.

Twenty-five years later, having survived many of his companions and fortified himself on the Seine, Rolf stood in a position to treat for territory within the realm of France; and the lacerations, internal as well as external, so long endured by the monarchy availed him at the crisis. Charlemagne had fixed Eyder as the boundary of Denmark; but Charlemagne's representative, having vainly offered Flanders, now condescended to cede the seabord from Bresle and Epte to the son of a Danish Jarl. There followed grants to other armed demandants: then some Danes accepted Christianity. Robert, Duke of France, standing by the font, gave Rolf his own name: King Charles bestowed

A.D. 911. Dudo. G. Gemmet, p. 230.

A.D. 912.

A.D. 912–3.

on him his natural daughter, Gisele. And under Rollo or Robert I. the wild rovers settled in that part of Neustria which thenceforth is known as '*Terra Normannorum*,' Normandy.

A.D. 919. 923, 924. From this basis 'the Northmen of the Seine' extended themselves into Bretagne and successively beyond Oise,—into Le Mayne and through the Bessin. Now checked by the arms of France, of Flanders, of Burgundy, more often quieted by gifts of money (*danegelt*): now siding with the rebellious magnates of France, now with one or other of the rival kings, A.D. 925–6. Charles and Robert: again and again suffering repulses, defeats, massacres even more merciless than they had inflicted, the Northmen of Loire and the Northmen of Seine drew towards civility, forsook the eating of horseflesh, shaved and consolidated themselves into a State.

O. Vit. iii. 1. A.D. 927. Rolf died. William (*Longue espée*), Rolf's son—not by Gisele, haply by Popa,—had received investiture from King Charles; possibly had administered within the latter years of him whom we regard as the founder of the dynasty of our Norman kings. Notwithstanding, there existed as yet no admitted principle of succession: neither had William any claim to ascendancy over his fellows; for the several lands had been ceded to the Northmen in joint possession. It is clear, however, that Rolf had commended his son to the compeers; and that, under one or other title, '*Dux*, *Protector*, *Patricius*, *Comes*,' subsequently '*Marchio*,' William ruled the entire province. And the Northmen, with Rouen for a capital—though with an inconstant breast-law in their chief,—presently assimilated their institutions to the feudal uses of suzerain France. William, on receiving the Cotentin—a dis-

Dudo. p. 91. Ib. Præf. iii. 105. Carta. A.D. 918. Bouq. ix. p. 536. Frodoard. A.D. 919–21.

Frodoard. A.D. 933.

trict of Bretagne,—made oath of fealty, putting his hands between King Rudolf's hands. In Rouen, at least, French had already superseded the Danish tongue when William's marriage with Leutgard, daughter of Herbert Count of Vermandois, and his personal attachment to Hugh (the Great) Count of Paris, drew the nations into alliance. When, therefore, Louis (*d'Outremer*) returned from his refuge in England, the 'Duke' siding with Herbert and Hugh, Normandy stood hostile to Arnulf Count of Flanders and to our King Æthelstan. At a meeting between Herbert, Hugh, Arnulf and Otho King of Germany, William, now representing a Power, assisted. But the ferocity of the Dane had not been tamed by clerical arts; and, though William did homage to King Louis, he immediately revolted from the suzerain and besieged Artald, metropolitan, in Rheims. In all the shameful intrigues, in all the violences which entangled and cast down the Carlovingian throne, the son of Rollo ungratefully bore his part. After a temporary truce, mediated by Pope Stephen IX., 'the Count of Rouen' (so styled) met the Count of Flanders on an island in the Somme; when, their private feuds being adjusted and the kiss of peace having transpired, Arnulf—under pretext that safe conduct had then run out—caused William to be slain. William had quitted the rendezvous but a little space when in returning to a call, he, a 'treacher,' put himself in the hand of one notoriously treacherous.

Dudo. p. 112. G. Gemmet. p. 235. A.D. 936. A.D. 936. A.D. 939. A.D. 940. A.D. 942. Dec. 17.

The stability of the Norman state was at this time imperilled. King Eadward had christianised or expelled all English Danes; and the reciprocal aids by which English Danes and French Danes had effected so much injury on France and upon us, for a moment ceased to operate. But fresh swarms of Pagan Northmen overran

S. Dunelm. A.D. 943–5.

Normandy; baptised natives renounced their faith, anarchy spread through the country; and William's son Richard—as yet not ten years of age—was hardly saved from apostacy and worldly wreck when King Louis, having driven the heathen out of Rouen, carried away the child as hostage for peace and order. Richard (*Sans peur*) learned much in the court of Lâon; all knightly duties and the use of letters. But on escaping from Louis he cast himself into the toils of Hugh Count of Paris, now reaching at the crown. The Normans, urged by Hugh, rose against Louis; battle after battle in the Cotentin and in the Bessin witnessing to the acrimony of chiefs and people. Louis, with Arnulf, entered Rouen: Hugh disbanded: but presently Harold Blaatand in power landed on the Dive and every Dane rallied to the Raven of his champion. Louis approached, 'his tents radiant with gold'; and, on the river bank, the two kings parleyed. But that redintegration of Arnulf stamped Louis as an accomplice in the murder of Duke William; and the honourable protection bestowed by him on Richard seemed an insult to the Norman nation. The interview passed from reclamations to blows: 'they slaughtered each other instead of negotiating; and the French, being taken by surprise, for the most part perished.' Louis himself, having fallen into the hands of the Danes, regained liberty only on solemn oath—enforced by delivery in hostage of his two sons, two bishops and several French seigneurs—to renounce all claims on Normandy, saving the right of homage from its duke. Subsequently, in presence of the magnates of both people and on the very spot, *S. Clair sur Epte*, where Charles *le Simple* had ceded Neustria to Rolf, Louis renewed the grant under the common feudal tenure. But Richard remained in tutelage;

Cf. Palgrave, Hist. N. & E. i. *passim.*

Frodoard. A.D. 944.

G. Gemmet, iv. 6.

B. S. More in Lapp. A.N. p. 27.

Dudo. p. 123. G. Gemmet, p. 242.

Dudo. p. 128.

for the Normans now put themselves 'under commendation' of Hugh the Great, who had imprisoned Louis his king. G. Gemmet, iv. 6. Bouq. ix. 731.

After death of King Louis and of Hugh the Great, Richard married Emma daughter of the latter, sister of Hugh (Capet), but by her had no issue. War with Theobald Count of Chartres preceded war with England. Our southern shore having been pirated from the opposite coast, Æthelred II. landed troops at Barfleur under passionate orders to burn and slay, so that 'nothing in Normandy should be left in its place save the rock of S. Michel,' and to bring 'the Marquess Richard, surnamed *Sans peur*, bound into his presence.' But, in the first attempt, the English soldiers roused the Norman spirit. Women with men, hurrying amain to arms, hemmed in and cut off all save him who carried home the tidings. A.D. 954–6. A.D. 991. W. Malm. ii. 16. Cf. Lapp. A.S. ii. 154.

Richard's education under Louis *d'Outremer* or the beams of civilisation shed abroad in Richard's time reflected brightly on the Church. A people scarcely indoctrinated became devout. The religious sentiment kindled by S. William began to shine. Restoration of churches and monasteries which their fathers had sacked—Fécamp, Mont S. Michel, S. Ouen at Rouen; vast ecclesiastical foundations within the province; grand donations to convents far and near—to the monks of Sinai, to the monks of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem,—attest, on the neophytes' part, at least faith in the Christian worship as then held and some consideration for the clerks' profession. The Benedictine rule—which certainly sprang from piety—was now planted in a congenial soil; and Richard himself, in genuine humility, desired to be buried outside the church, yet under the church's eaves. By A.S.Chron. A.D. 994. A.D. 996. Nov. 20.

G. Gemmet, viii. 36. Gunnor whom, after the birth of several children, he married, Richard left five sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Richard II. (the Good), without challenge succeeding.

A.D. 996. But now the first result of that feudalisation which had taken place began to irritate a peasanty free and almost lawless. Their war-chiefs had become territorial seigneurs; and the imposts, the tolls, the restraints, the surveillance—in fact the whole machinery of the new system, pressed on the vassals' sense of independence. The people congregated here and there, they chose delegates and were on the point of outbreak when Richard's uncle, Raoul, captured some in council, cut off their hands and feet and, as a living caution, returned a mutilated body to every village. Another insurrection—threatened by a base born brother, William of Hiesmes—likewise failed. And Richard, possessed of a kind heart, attaching himself to the clergy and to the King of France, eventually secured the affections of his people and their welfare.

G. Gemmet, v. 2. Rom. de Rou, 5,975, sq.

A.D. 1003. G. Gemmet, v. 15. When King Robert claimed the feof of Burgundy, Richard with 30,000 men effected the seizin. And, in the quarrel with Baldwin IV. of Flanders, he carried his arms to the siege of Valenciennes. On the other hand, Richard's relation to the King of England intimates Norman progress in national wisdom. Æthelred II. had married the daughter of that 'Marquess' whom he would fain have had brought bound before him. The Danish army which vexed either shore, foreboding thence a check on their way of life, had projected some enormous violence. 'When it was made known to the king that they would treacherously bereave him of his life and afterwards slay all his Witan and, after that, have his kingdom without any gainsaying,' Æthel-

A.D. 1006.

Cf. Lapp. A.S.Kings, ii. 164. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1002.

red secretly revoked all safeguards vouched and commanded that, on S. Brice's day, every Dane should be put to death. The behest, received without horror, nay silently cherished, had been (within certain limits) mercilessly executed; and the blood of innocents—of English women attached to Danes and their children too—was reeking from the earth. Svend, King of Denmark, whose sister Gunhild had perished by the sword of Eadric Streona—of whom more presently,—had vowed to conquer England within three years; and, in person, at Rouen, he required Richard's aid therein. Ailred. R. p. 363. Nov. 13.

But now the Christian stood aloof from the Pagan; and under contract that, so long as the Norman coast should be free from ravage, the Danes might sell their plunder and tend their wounded there, vengeance remained to Svend alone. In the miseries and shame of the reign of our Æthelred II. is the record of that dire vengeance: in the hospitable asylum offered to Æthelred, to Ælfgifu-Emma and their children, is the memorial of Richard's charity. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1013. Flo. Wig.

Under training of the Church, in emulation of the French and Flemings, the Normans at this date begin to occupy a splendid page in history. Rude strength and hardness, economised and directed, were leading them to permanent conquests, to chivalric if not noble exploits. The gallant capture of Merimonde in the Alps, the extermination of the Arabs of Barcelona, the defeat of the Greeks in Apulia, heralded their arms through Spain and Italy, warned the nations of the advent of a competitor and prepared the race itself for that supreme act which crowned the Norman name. A.D. 1024.

Having ruled for thirty years, having endowed and beneficed churches, Richard died, leaving, by his A.D. 1026. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1027. Jan.

wife Judith, daughter of Conan Count of Bretagne, four sons and two daughters and, by his second wife, Papia, two sons.

A.D. 1026–8. G. Gemmet, vi. 2.

Richard III. had already given proof of prowess; but, after a short quarrel with his brother Robert whom he besieged at Falaise, perished by poison and was succeeded by that brother.

Robert II. thrust himself amid intestine commotions. He, or his council, set aside Richard's infant. His uncle, Robert Archbishop of Rouen and Count of Evreux, rose in arms upon him. William Count of Belésme fortified Alençon against him. Hugh Bishop of Bayeux threatened. Alan Count of Bretagne stood out. But Robert ejected the count-prelate, compelled William to approach barefoot with a saddle on his back, brought Hugh and Alan to sue for peace. But, if the cold remorse of fratricide did not weigh down his conscience, a dark suspicion rested on Robert's fame. He prospered in the field: he added the Vexin with Pontoise and Chaumont and Mantes to Normandy; while his spirit gat no rest. A man courageous, free, fond of jest and of luxury, hospitable, friendly, either some undivulged crime or some vehement access of spiritual incitement—possibly both causes in combination—urged him to pilgrimage. On the road from Zion, when at Nice in Bythinia, he died (he too poisoned, it is said). He, likewise, had founded abbeys—'Robert the Munificent;' had been obedient to the Church: yet he passes in tradition as 'Robert the Devil;' and the atrocities of another Robert in another generation (as I shall shew) are, as it were, the stones cast upon his cairn whom none know to have sinned exceedingly in that kind.

G. Gemmet, vi. 4.

O. Vit. vii. 14.

A.D. 1035. July 22.

The affairs of Normandy, meantime—with care of

Robert's child,—vested in the suzerain, Henry King of France, and had been delegated by him, it would seem, to Gilbert d'Eu (an illegitimate descendant of Duke Richard I.); but guardianship of William II. remained with Alan V. Count of Bretagne. Robert left no lawful issue. Cnut, at this time King of England, had betrothed to him Astrith his sister, widow of Jarl Ulf. But Robert had returned her in disgust.

Rom. de Rou, 8127. G. Pictav. vii. 2.

Now, only one of these Norman counts had accepted the Christian idea of marriage. On the contrary, if we put aside libertinage, it remains that many of them repudiated the rite. That Rolf took Gisele according to Church usage or that Popa, whom he took in pagan-Danish way, had then died are points not ascertained; nor is it clear that William (*Longue espée*) was offspring of either woman. William I. did not marry. Richard I. was born of Sprota a Breton concubine; and, though he married twice, he left many children by other than his wives. Richard II. also married twice. He is the exception. But Richard III., unmarried, left a son; and Robert II., also unmarried, is stigmatised for concupiscence; and his son, by the daughter of a butcher at Caen, himself chaste, would, as it were in Danish pride, write himself, '*Ego Willelmus cognomine Bastardus.*' It is manifest, therefore, that acceptance of the Second William as Duke of Normandy depended on the people's will—supported formally by investiture on the suzerain's part; not on any principle of legitimate descent—legitimacy, in truth, having but a secondary title anywhere at the time.

Frodoard. A.D. 942. Dudo. 97–110.

A.D. 1027.

And now commence those feuds and private wars which distract the attention, if they do not bewilder the imagination, of the student of Norman history,

Names appear which illustrate the glorious epoch of the Norman race. While Roger de Toeni and Roger de Beaumont (Bellomont) wrangle to the death and the first Amaury de Montfort mediates between France and Normandy, the several founders of our grand baronial houses, De Warrenne, De Montgomery, De Montfort-sur-Risle, rise before us, factious half-savages, whom none but a potent and unscrupulous chieftain could controul, the rugged crystal whence art cuts the gem: there rise, too, nobler names, Robert Guiscard, William Bras-de-fer, Roger of Sicily, the sons of Tancred, knight of Hauteville.

O. Vit. vii. 14. Ib. 15. G. Gemmet, vii. 2.

William II. had not attained his eighth year. Perhaps the most true picture of his time may be seen in that personal narrative with which he is said to have solaced his dying hours: "I was bred to arms and am stained with the rivers of blood that I have shed. I cannot recount all the injuries I have inflicted. I have ruled this duchy now for fifty-two years amid incessant strife. My own subjects have conspired against me often and wronged me greatly. They put to death my guardian Thorkill"—they poisoned Alan of Bretagne also,—"and they slew Osbern, son of Herfast, Steward of Normandy, and Count Gilbert, father of his country, and many other pillars of the state. Often by night would my (maternal) uncle Walter, through fear of my relatives, carry me from the palace to some cottage of the poor, that I might escape death. I have learned by experience that they who ought to have defended me against all the world conspired against me. Guy of Burgundy, my cousin, calling me bastard, degenerate, unworthy to reign, defamed me as though I had been his enemy: he drew from me Hamon *aux dents*, Nigel du Cotentin and many others. I, as yet

O. Vit. G. Gemmet, vii. 6.

a beardless youth, by God's help overcame the traitors on the plain of Valesdunes; and, besieging Brionne, A.D. 1047. drave the public enemy from Normandy. Mauger my uncle, Archbishop of Rouen, and William his brother (Count of Talou) also called me bastard and induced King Henry and Count Enguerrand to take arms against me. But I marched on Arques: my advanced guard slew the Count of Ponthieu: I pressed the siege: I compelled William to abjure the land, and I gat the Pope to suppress that prelate who kept duty neither to me nor to God. In the panoply of his power, in the fervour of his chivalry, King Henry once and again brake my border. He has not triumphed; neither in spoil nor in captives; neither has he retreated without discomfiture. Valiant men marched with him: but they left their bodies on the Norman fields. On a time A.D. 1054. he led an army into Evreux and spurred through and through on this side Seine: and he sent another host by the fords of Epte to carry fire and sword through Brai and Talou. But I held the king in check while my knights overthrew his troops nigh Mortimer-en-lions." Hereupon William states that "the carnage was enormous, by reason that the French coveted spoil not less than glory, while the Normans fought for home and life," and that, on intelligence of the victory, he sent Ralf de Toeni, his standard, to announce the same to Henry. The incident is remarkable—'It was night when, standing on a hillock over against the French king's tent, the herald shouted: "My name is Ralf de Toeni. I bring ye tidings. Hasten with your carts and carriages to Mortimer and carry off your dead. The French have braved our chivalry: let them deplore the venture. Eudes, the king's brother, has fled. Guy, Count of Ponthieu, is a captive: the rest are slain or

R. de Diceto. Cf. Rom. de Rou.

prisoned or dispersed. It is the Duke of Normandy who tells this to the King of France." ' And Henry, in William's words, "lost not a moment," and, from that night, never reposed within the province. "Thus," he resumes, "from my infancy have I been embarrassed, but, by God's mercy, I have freed myself honourably. I became an object of jealousy to my neighbours; yet, by His aid in whom I always trust, never have they prevailed against me. The Bretons and the Angevins have experienced this: the French and the Flemings bear witness to it. The Manceaux have severely felt it."

Mention of the Manceaux requires comment: for a claim is suggested which we shall hereafter find pressed on Le Mayne by William's successors. We have seen that Duke Robert took Mantes, the capital of the county,—but it had been by tort. Le Mayne had long been governed by its own counts under suzerainty of the Counts of Anjou; Geoffrey II. (Martel) Count of Anjou having lately administered it during the minority of Hugh and Herebert II. successively. It happened when Duke William aided King Henry in chastising
A.D. 1051. Geoffrey; and Geoffrey, in retaliation, had sacked Alençon, that William, being enraged at the Angevin garrison who, on the walls, hung out and beat a hide in token
G. Gemmet, viii. 18. of contempt for the 'son of a skinner's daughter,' entered Le Mayne in power and added Domfront to his
G. Pictav. pp. 187–9. O. Vit. iii. 8; iv. 13. patrimony; subsequently seizing the many strong castles, one by one, and finally betrothing his son
A.D. 1063. Robert (Curthose) to Margaret, sister and heiress of
Circà A.D. 1047. O. Vit. vii. 2. Count Herebert. William, about this time, married Matilda daughter of Baldwin V. Count of Flanders—as I think wife or widow of Gherbod the Elder, a Fleming. By his intrusion into Le Mayne, William

had humbled the House of Anjou. By poison he gat a footing in Bretagne. G. Gem. met, vii. 33.

I must now touch on correlative affairs in England. Often those very crews that pirated France had sped through England. Latterly, the chronicle of every year tells of the horrible devastations, 'the spoiling,' 'the burning,' 'the manslaying,' perpetrated by the pagan army that in truth dominated this realm: records, too, sadly, the continuous ransoms, the ever heavier weight of money paid to avert its doom. Within the very year that Æthelred massacred the Danes he married Emma—by her Saxon name Ælfgifu—daughter of Richard I. Duke of Normandy. In the next year came King Svend to avenge his people. Svend carried Exeter by storm, pilled Wilton and Sarum—subsequently Norwich—and destroyed all the chief men throughout East Anglia. 'No man recollected a famine so grievous:' 'and the fleet went from this land to Denmark; yet it stayed but a little while ere it hove in again.' 'And, after midsummer, came a great fleet to Sandwich and the Danes did as they were before wont; they ravaged and burnt and ruined. Then the king bade, and the people of Wessex and Mercia lay out all harvest in the field. It availed nothing the more than it oft before had done. . . . And at midwinter the army (Danes) went to their store throughout Hants and Berks and they did their old wont; they lighted their war-beacons as they went and returned over Ashdown under the walls of Winchester laden with spoil. And the king and his Witan decreed for behoof of the whole nation (though it were hateful to them all) that they needs must pay tribute to the army. . . . And likewise they victualled the enemy. And the sum paid was 36,000 lbs. in weight.' A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. A.D. 787. A.D. 1002. A.D. 1003. A.D. 1004. A.D. 1005. A.D. 1006. A.D. 1007.

And beyond these calamities—the sure accompaniment of a decaying realm—treachery overruled each act of Æthelred and his council.

Flo. Wig. Eadric Streona, son of Æthelric, Ealdorman of Mercia—he who, in cold blood, had caused the lady Gunhild to be beheaded,—a man 'of low origin, of smooth tongue, subtle in genius, eloquent, surpassing all his contemporaries in malice and perfidy as well as in pride and cruelty,' had ingratiated himself with the king, had married the king's daughter Eadgyth and to him and to his six brothers Brightric, Ælfric, Goda, Æthelwine, Æthelweard and Æthelmaer—all likewise beneficed greatly,—is due the utter overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1008. The country armed. Every 310 hides of land furnished a vessel, every eight or nine hides sent in a

A.D. 1009. helmet and coat of mail; and there lay at Sandwich a navy, manned and munitioned, such as never had been known before.

Wlfnoth, 'child of Sussex' son of Æthelmaer above mentioned, being, through some family pique, charged with treason by his uncle Brightric, outlawed himself and from 20 ships pirated the coast. Whereupon Brightric pursued with 80 of the king's ships. But, in a tempest, Brightric's squadron was 'smashed to pieces' and Wlfnoth burnt the hulls; and the king, despairing of his navy or under evil advice, returned inland; his armament steered for London 'and the vast toil of

Aug. the whole nation came to naught.' For now Jarl Thorkill anchored at Sandwich: he passed on to Canterbury and to Wight; and in Sussex and Hants and Berks the Danes ravaged 'as their wont is.' 'The king bade the ban: but they wended as they willed.' And, on a time, it happened that the king at head of

his forces confronted them as they would go to their ships and all the people gat them ready to attack. A.S.Chron. But the onslaught was let by Eadric 'as it ever is still.' And the enemy marched into Kent again and foraged in Essex and the neighbouring shires and often fought against the citizens of London. And at midwinter they passed through Chiltern on to Oxford which they fired; and, returning into Kent by A.D. 1010. Staines, regained their ships. Next year they landed at Ipswich and went on to Cambridge. Some, thereabout, made stand against them, but the king's son-in-law Æthelstan and Oswy, his son, and Wlfric, Leofwyn's son, and Eadwig, Ælfy's brother, and many other good thegns with numberless people, perished at their hands. And the Danes horsed themselves and threaded Oxford and Bucks and Beds, 'ever burning as they went, retreating with their booty.' 'Now when they had reached their ships, then ought our forces to have gone out against them: but our forces went home.' 'And when they marched southward, then marched we northward.' The Witan met: 'but, although something might be counselled, it did not stand one month. At length there was no chief who would gather his power; each fled as he might: nor, at the last, would one shire help another.'

So the King and his Witan sent to the enemy A.D. 1011. desiring peace and offering tribute and food. The Danes had overcome East Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Oxon, Cambridge, Herts, Bucks, Beds, half of Hunts, most of Northamptonshire, all Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Berks, Hants and most of Wilts. 'Nevertheless, for all the tribute and the truce, the enemy went everywhere in bands plundering our miserable folk, slaying them.'

I offer this abstract as an outline, merely, or slight

sketch of the freebooters and of the dilapidated pillars of the state. It will suffice to shew that Æthelred II.—*the Unready*—failed to uphold his country and that the Anglo-Saxon magnates failed in patriotism. Yet the
A.S.Chron. 'unwise counsel' of parasites and traitors, rather than either king's inaptness, now, as in the days of Stephen, brought about revolution.

Flo. Wig. A.D. 1012. Through the treachery of Ælfmaer, Abbot of S. Augustine's, after twenty days siege, Canterbury was fired and its inhabitants, cleric and lay, were put to revolting torments. Archbishop Ælfheah, Godwine Bishop of Rochester, Leofrun Abbess of S. Mildred's, the king's reeve, monks, canons, fell into the grasp of infuriated pagans who, in a paroxysm of drunkenness,
April 19. slaughtered the primate, hurling on him bones and skulls of oxen; and then decimated the population.

April 13. Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron. Eadric Streona and the Witan at this time in London collected the tribute, now 48,000 lbs. And that sum being paid, under farther promise of food and clothes, Thorkill the Dane with 45 ships contracted to protect the realm against all foes.

A.D. 1013. Presently King Svend with his son Cnut touched at Sandwich and then sailed for the Humber; then, entering Trent, he landed at Gainsborough. Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland, King Æthelred's son-in-law, submitted instantly; and the people of Lindsey and they of the five burghs Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby, and, soon afterwards, 'all the (English) army' north of Watling Street—*i.e.* of the road which the sons of King Weatla made across England from the eastern to the western sea—yielded and gave hostages to King Svend from every shire. 'English men sware fealty to King Svend' who bade them victual and horse his crews. And Svend left his

ships and hostages in the hand of Cnut his son. He himself, crossing Watling Street, 'wrought the most evil that any could do.' Oxford and Winchester yielded him pledges for obedience; and thence he came on against London—his troops stayed not for bridge or ford; many perished in the river—but the citizens held out with all their might because King Æthelred lay therein and Thorkill with him. So Svend marched to Wallingford and thence on Bath. Here Æthelmaer—I apprehend brother of Eadric Streona and father of Wlfnoth—Ealdorman of Devonshire with the thegns of Wessex brought hostages; and then 'all the people of England held Svend for full king; and the citizens of London, because they dreaded lest he should utterly undo them, succumbed and gave pledges for good faith. Whereupon Svend bade yet another tribute and more provisions for his men. And Thorkill had the like for his crews at Greenwich.'

Æthelred, being with the fleet in Thames, now sent his queen into Normandy under protection of Ælfsige Abbot of Peterborough. And presently he sent thither his sons also, the Æthelings, under care of Alfhun Bishop of London. And Emma-Ælfgifu and her children Ælfred and Eadward (afterwards the Confessor) lodged with Duke Richard. And at mid- A.S.Chron. A.D. 1114.
winter the king 'departed from the fleet into the Isle of Wight and after that tide he, too, went over sea.'

King Svend dying, 'all the fleet chose Cnut for king,' Feb. 2.
'but such of the Witan, cleric and lay, as were in England counselled to send after King Æthelred; declaring that no lord could be dearer to them than their natural lord if only he would rule them better than theretofore.' And Æthelred sent his son Eadward

with greetings to his people. 'He would be to them a loving lord and would amend all those things which they abhorred. All should be forgiven which had been done or said against him if only they would be obedient to him without deceit.' So the messengers and the Witan exchanged pledges and proclaimed every Danish king outlaw. And King Æthelred returned to his people; England rejoicing.

Now Cnut lay at Gainsborough. And Æthelred in power set upon him. And Cnut embarked hurriedly; and having cut off the hands and ears and slit the nostrils of his hostages landed them at Sandwich and steered for Denmark.

A.D. 1115. During the Witenagemot at Oxford, Eadric Streona alluring Sigeferth and Morkar, chief thegns in the five burghs, into his chamber, caused them to be murdered; whereupon the king seized all their possessions and sent Sigeferth's relict to convent at Malmesbury whence, after a little while, the Ætheling Eadmund (Ironside), the king's eldest son by Ælflaed his first wife, took the lady contrary to his father's will and had her for his wife. And the Ætheling went straightway into the five burghs and seized all that had been Sigeferth's and Morkar's and the people of those parts acknowledged Eadmund to be their lord.

Between Aug. 15 & Sept. 8.

A.S.Chron. Shortly Cnut returned and ravaged the coast from Sandwich to the Frome (at Bristol?), Kent and Wessex, Dorset and Somerset and Wilts, while King Æthelred lay sick at Corsham.

Then Eadric the Ealdorman and Eadmund the Ætheling raised powers, the one in the south the other in the north. 'And when these joined, then would the Ealdorman betray the Ætheling; and, on that account, they two parted without giving battle; making a clear

way for the enemy.' And Eadric enticed forty ships from the king's service and with them went over openly to Cnut. And the men of Wessex revolted from King Æthelred and homaged the Dane. Flo. Wig.

So Cnut and Eadric crossing Thames at Cricklade 'ravaged all they could come at.' Then the Ætheling Eadmund gathered forces but it would not content his troops except the king were with them and that they might be holpen of the Londoners. Whereupon 'each man went him away home.' Later, a general levy was called: 'that every able man should come forth under full penalties.' Eadmund prayed that the king would join those with such power as he could raise. But it availed nothing more than it oft had done. For Æthelred, suspicious, disbanded the army and retired to London. A.D. 1016.

'Then rode the Ætheling Eadmund into Northumbria to Uhtred the earl who had married his sister Ælfgifu. All thought these two would make head against Cnut. But they raided Stafford and Salop and Chester while Cnut raided Bucks and Beds and Hunts and Northants along the fens to Stamford and into Lincoln and into Notts and towards York. And then Uhtred left off plundering; and, when he returned to Northumbria, he and his people submitted to Cnut and gave hostages: notwithstanding, 'through counsel of Eadric, his brother-in-law, Uhtred was put to death and his earldom was given to Eadric the perfidious. The Ætheling, also, left off plundering that he might join his father in London. And then Cnut, with all his ships, set sail for the Thames,—it would seem with intent to take the king alive. But Æthelred had died.

'So the Witan and the citizens chose Eadmund (Iron- April 23.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. side) to be king.' But the bishops, abbots, ealdormen and others of rank, met at Southampton; and, renouncing and repudiating all descendants of King Æthelred, elected Cnut. They made peace and sware fealty to him who, for his part, sware 'that in all things he would be faithful to his duties as lord over them, according to the laws of God and man.'

At a time when the heir-apparent to the throne and the king's sons-in-law bare themselves as lusty thieves, when thegn would not help thegn in the country's cause, nor shire rank with shire against the common foe, when the timid had fled to sanctuary and the land lay nerveless under the feet of savages, passionate and bitter complainings might be looked for among the clergy; but that a Christian hierarchy, taking stand on the rite as a divine ordinance, should have contemplated anointing 'the idol-worshipper' can but be due to moral cowardice and graceless folly. I presume that the clergy would extenuate their treason by citing the prophecy of S. Dunstan when crowning Æthelred: at least they would justify themselves as instruments of a righteous doom. "Because thou hast been raised to the throne by the death of thy brother whom thy mother slew, the sword shall not depart from thy house but shall rage against thee all the days of thy life, cutting off thy seed, until thy kingdom shall become the kingdom of an alien whose customs and language the nation thou rulest knoweth not."

May 7. With his entire fleet, Cnut sailed to London. He dug a broad ditch on the south side and dragged his ships westward of the bridge: dug a trench around the city Flo. Wig. and assaulted often. But London held resolute ever. Partially raising the siege, Cnut made a forced march into Wessex, where Eadmund was levying troops. Yet

at Pen, in Dorset, Eadmund with a few put Cnut to rout. And again, having mustered fully, Eadmund at Sceorstan (in Gloucester?) met Cnut in pitched battle. He arrayed, he harangued, he personally fought very June 24. strenuously. But Eadric, the infamous, and folk of Hants and Wilts thronged in the Danish ranks; and at sunset both armies wearily paused. Eadmund had June 25. already gat the upper hand when the next day the same Eadric striking off the head of one Osmaer, whose face and hair were like the king's, held it aloft with a cry, "Flet Engle! Flet Engle! Fly ye men of H. Hunt. Dorset, Devon and Wilts: ye have lost your leader, fly with all speed!" Some, panic-stricken, wavered, but even these, learning that Eadmund lived, rushed on again, and, till nightfall, slaughter raged. In the Flo. Wig. dark, Cnut brake up camp and, hurrying to his ships, soon again invested London. Eadmund retired to recruit in Wessex. But now Eadric sounded the depths of baseness. He came to his brother-in-law, his king, and, with what show of remorse we know not, vowed he would thenceforth be loving, loyal. And King Eadmund trusted him to his hurt.

Then Eadmund relieved London and drave away the Danes. And at Brentford he defeated them. Again he levied in Wessex while Cnut again, ineffectually, invested London. Then the Danes sailing into the Arewe (?) plundered and burnt Mercia. Their kernes came back to the Medway in ships but their horsemen herded the booty across country.

For the fourth time, Eadmund levied from all Flo. Wig. England, attacked at Otwell in Kent and thrust the robbers into Sheppey. 'He slew all he could overtake; and if the false Ealdorman Eadric had not held him back at Aylesford he would on that day have

crushed the Danes.' Again Eadmund passed into Wessex. Again Cnut harried Mercia—now worse than before. Cnut, circling towards Thames, had reached the hill Assendun in Essex, when Eadmund in power drew in sight. The king formed in three lines, one behind the other; the pirate led his troops slowly down to level ground. Eadmund burst amain upon the foe. Both armies desperately strove. But yet once more, and finally, Eadric ruined his country. When he saw that the English still stood firm while the Danes were breaking rank, he, with the Magesaetas—men of Hereford and Worcester,—furling his banner, slunk from the field 'as had been agreed between him and Cnut.' And, although the conflict dallied till moonlight, the English army—brave enough when bravely led—was scattered. 'On the morrow the Danes buried their dead, but they stripped their foes.' Stark for kites and crows lay the noble corpses of Ælfric the Ealdorman, of Godwine of Lindsey, of Ulfcytel-Snelling, the king's brother-in-law, of Æthelweard son of Æthelwine, 'the friend of God,' of Eadnoth Bishop of Dorchester and of the Abbot Wlfsidge, who had come to pray for liberation of his folk.

Encomium Emmæ, 17, 18.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

Eadmund retreated to Gloucester. Cnut followed him quickly. But Eadric had again joined the king and whispered him rather to share with the invader than risk loss of all the realm. Eadward and Cnut meeting on the Isle of Olney in Severn treated of peace. They divided England between them. The king kept Essex, London and all south of Thames; the pirate took all else; 'and the two kings exchanged arms and dress.'

Flo. Wig.

Nov. 30. Yet, not long afterwards, Eadric fulfilled the measure

of his sins; secretly in the chamber and in some obscene way stabbing his brother-in-law and king. Lib. Eliensis, p. 196.

Innocent or guilty—for his part in it may be questioned—Cnut at once profited by that act. Convening the chief men, cleric and lay, and feigning ignorance, he asked of those who had been witnesses between himself and Eadmund what had been the terms of their treaty: how it had been agreed touching Eadmund's brothers and sons? Whether the late king's brothers and sons were to succeed him in Wessex, Eadmund dying in Cnut's lifetime? They affirmed that, without doubt, King Eadmund neither when living or dying had given any part of the realm to his brothers; but that he willed that King Cnut should aid and protect his children. 'God knows they bare false witness and foully lied in hope of reward; albeit some of them soon suffered death at his hands whom now they advanced.' Afterwards, Cnut so requiring, these magnates gave him their oath that they would elect him king and humbly obey him and pay his army. And, Cnut giving them his naked hand with the plight of his jarls, they utterly disregarded the claims of Eadmund's brothers and sons and denied the right of any of them to the crown. A.D. 1016. Flo. Wig.

It is not my purpose to chronicle the twenty-six years in which the Danes ruled England, nor yet that other interval of so-called restoration which preceded that final conquest of our country by the Normans whence my history dates. The demoralised condition of the Anglo-Saxon magnates, the comminution of the state, if not a falling off of the people's courage, has been sufficiently shown. It is all too clear that England had denationalised itself ere it succumbed. And neither the ethics of that shame nor an analysis of the A.D. 1016–42.

various stages of that decay belong to the period I have undertaken to exhibit.

Some incidents, however, are noteworthy. I find no contemporary account of the crowning of Cnut.

A.D. 1017. Flo. Wig. 'He took on him government of the whole of England.' 'Also, he made a pact with the chiefs and all the people; they joining and mutually ratifying a firm friendship by oaths.'

Cnut divided England into four provinces. Retaining Wessex under his own immediate jurisdiction, he confirmed Eadric Streona in Mercia, consigned East-Anglia to Thorkill—the Dane who had taken service with the Saxon and who had married Wlfhild daughter of King Æthelred and widow of Ulfcytel-Snelling—and Northumbria to Eric a Norwegian jarl. Then, by advice of Eadric and consent of the Witan, he outlawed Eadwig the Ætheling and Eadwig 'king of the churls.' Likewise counselled by Eadric to make away with the Æthelings, Eadmund Ironside's infants—the eldest scarcely two years old,—he sent Eadmund and Eadward to Sweden.

Queen Emma (Ælfgifu) with her sons Eadward and Ælfred had again retired to the court of Normandy. And the accord subsisting between Dane and Norman can alone account for the fact that when Cnut married King Æthelred's widow, he and she agreed to set aside all former issue on either part in favour of such offspring as they might have. I suppose Cnut's baptism to have happened at this time.

July. Encom. Emmæ. pp. 20, sq.

Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron. Cf. H. At Christmas, during the feast and in the presence, at Cnut's beck, Eadric Streona, the abhorred of Dane and Saxon met his doom right-wisely: Jarl Eric clave him with an axe. Other thegns perished at that tide

and subsequently Eadwig the Ætheling also and Eadwig, king of the churls.

Seventy-two thousand pounds weight in silver was levied from all England beside ten thousand five hundred pounds from London for the army. And at Oxford, English and Danes, in Witenagemot, agreed to live under King Eadgar's laws. King Eadgar's laws had been lenient to immigrant Danes. Cnut's laws are absolutely equal. The country prospered. The feeling of the nation rallied towards a benefactor; and he who had sate like a nightmare on England's bosom soon became venerated as a guardian angel. Confident in the people with whom he dealt honourably their king might visit Denmark, might conquer Norway, might make pilgrimage to Rome.

A.D. 1018.

Wilkins, Concil. A.D. 1021.

A.D. 1019–20. A.D. 1027. A.D. 1026.

It seems beside my path: but the view of a royal convert to Christianity will excuse me to the reader. Cnut's letter to Ælfric Archbishop of York is rare: it is genuine. 'To the whole nation of the English, noble and ignoble,' he wishes health. In his own words "I have lately been at Rome to pray for the redemption of my sins and for the prosperity of the kingdoms and peoples subject to my rule. . . . I have spoken with the Emperor (Conrad II.) and with the lord Pope (John XVIII.) and with the princes who were there, concerning the wants of all my people both English and Danes, that a more equitable law and greater security might be granted to them in their journey to Rome and that they might not be hindered by so many barriers nor harassed by unjust tolls. I complained that from my archbishops such immense sums were exacted when according to usage they visited the apostolic see to receive the pall. And all that I have demanded from

Encom. Emmæ, p. 24.

Thorpe's translation. Ingulph. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1031.

the Pope and from the Emperor, from King Rudolf (II. Burgundy) and from the other princes through whose territories our way lies to Rome has been freely granted. . . . I therefore render great thanks to God Almighty that I have successfully accomplished all that I desired and have satisfied to the utmost the wishes of my people. Be it known to you that I have vowed as a suppliant to justify in all things my whole life to God and to rule the kingdoms and peoples subjected to me justly and piously; to maintain equal justice among all; and if, through the intemperance of my youth or through my negligence, I have done aught hitherto contrary to what is just, I intend with the aid of God to amend all. I therefore conjure and enjoin my counsellors that from henceforth they in no wise, neither through fear of me nor favour to any powerful person, consent to, or suffer to increase, any injustice in my whole kingdom. I enjoin also all sheriffs and 'gerefan' . . . that they use no unjust violence to any man, either rich or poor; but that every one, both noble and ignoble, enjoy just law, from which let them in no way swerve, neither for favour, nor for any powerful person, nor for sake of collecting money for me, for I have no need that money should be collected for me by iniquitous exactions. . . . I have sent this letter beforehand that all the people of my kingdom may rejoice at my prosperity; for, as you yourselves know, I have never shrunk from labouring, nor will I shrink therefrom for the necessary benefit of all my people. I, therefore, conjure my bishops and ealdormen, by the fealty which they owe to me and to God, so to order that, before I come to England, the debts of all, which we owe according to the old law, be paid; to wit plough-

alms and a tithe of animals brought forth during the year and the pence which ye owe to S. Peter at Rome, both from the cities and villages; and in the middle of August a tithe of fruits, and at the feast of S. Martin the first fruits of things sown, to the church of the parish in which each one dwells, which is in English called *ciric-sceat.*"

King Cnut with his Queen and son assisted at translation of the body of Primate Ælfheah whom the Danes had butchered: and he and Jarl Thorkill founded a minster 'of stone and lime' at Assendun where the Danes, when pagan, had prevailed over the Christian Saxons. And he rebuilt churches and convents which he and his people had destroyed and beneficed the church here and abroad. In his time not only did Dane and Saxon draw together but Englishman and Norman held friendly intercourse. The purely Anglo-Saxon families, the special English feeling, had almost ceased. A.D. 1023. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1020.

When Robert II. Duke of Normandy meditated to reinstate his nephews—Emma's sons by Æthelred—and had manned a fleet at Fécamp which, being storm-bound and calm-bound off Jersey, remained as the broken monument of his hostility and failure, Cnut soothed the national rancour and chagrin somehow:—it is said—I apprehend not truly—by promising to the Æthelings Eadward and Ælfred that portion of the realm which Eadmund (Ironside) their half-brother had enjoyed. G. Gemmet, vi. 10, 12, 13.

Cnut dying, the nation, in profound peace—first the sailors, then the army,—accepted the pretensions of Harold (Harefoot). A.D. 1035. Nov. 11. Flo. Wig.

Now 'Ælfwyn, daughter of Alfhelm, Ealdorman of Northampton, by the noble lady Wlfruna, desired to

have a son by King Cnut; but failing therein caused the new-born babe of a certain priest to be brought to her and made the king fully believe that she had borne that son to him.' That child was Sweyn to whom Cnut gave the realm of Norway. 'Harold, also, said that he was a son of Ælfwyn of Northampton; although it is far from certain: for some say that he was the child of a cobbler and that Ælfwyn acted in his behalf as she had acted in the case of Sweyn.'

'With consent of many of the higher order, however, Harold began to reign. But he had not the same power as Cnut, because the arrival of Harthcnut the more rightful heir was looked for.' Harold immediately seized the treasure hoarded under care of Queen Emma in Winchester; and shortly, in Witenagemot at Oxford, notwithstanding protest of Earl Godwine and the thegns of Wessex, was recognised as 'King of England north of Thames.' And, 'because Harthcnut, Cnut's son by Emma, loitered in Denmark, next year Harold was proclaimed king over all England. Many, dreading civil war, fled to sanctuaries.'

A.S.Chron.

A.D. 1037.

Ingulph. Encom. Emmæ, p. 27.

Primate Æthelnoth, however, refused to crown Harold or to bless him so long as any child of Emma lived. A singular example in our annals of the king *de facto* not being king *de jure*.

A.D. 1036. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. Encom. Emmæ, p. 29. R. de Rou. 9773. G. Gemmet, vii. 8. W. Malm. ii. 13. G. Pictav.

In the meantime the Æthelings Eadward and Ælfred arrived to confer with their mother. Eadward had arrived in forty ships from Normandy and landed at Southampton, but his alien followers took to plundering; the natives rose against them; and he returned to Rouen. Ælfred, on the other hand, sailing from Witsand with troops of his brother-in-law Eustace Count of Boulogne, fell into the usurper's fangs. In result, of Ælfred and his soldiers, one out of ten being spared for slavery,

600 suffered death by various mutilations—scalpings even—at Guildford; and the Ætheling himself, haled ignominiously to Ely, was cast blinded into the Isle to die. And Harold drave out Queen Emma who took refuge with Baldwin V. Count of Flanders.

An act, intelligible as the wild expedient of tyranny, becomes perplexing when charged on Godwine, 'Queen Emma's man.' Godwine, with 'almost all the chief men and greater thegns' (as his compurgators), made oath that the horrible deed had been done not at his instance but under the king's command.

Harold dying, the Witan sent to Bruges for Harthcnut who, about midsummer, with his mother and troops, arrived in sixty ships. A.D. 1039. March 17. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

Harthcnut was received with greatest joy and crowned. Yet he set a very heavy tribute, so that it could hardly be levied, viz., eight marks for each rower in his fleet and twelve marks for each steersman; and the sum paid was 21,099 lbs.; and after that another sum for thirty-two ships, 11,048 lbs. And then all who before had desired him became averse to him. Moreover he caused the dead Harold to be taken from the grave and to be cast into a fen. And he ravaged all Worcestershire because two of his húscarls, while collecting the impost harshly, had been slain therein. A.D. 1040.

'While he reigned, he did nothing worthy of his power.' And King Harthcnut 'as he stood at his drink, suddenly fell to the earth, terribly convulsed. And they who were bye took hold on him. But after that he spake not a word ere he died.' A.D. 1042. A.S.Chron. June 8.

In the previous year, Eadward, surviving son of Æthelred II. by Emma, had returned on welcome 'and abode in his brother's family.' And now 'all the people A.D. 1041-2. Flo. Wig.

of London acknowledged Eadward (thereafter Confessor) for king, as was his true natural right.'

Of the spurious claims of Sweyn and of Magnus I shall say nothing: of the mysterious conduct of Godwine as little as I may. I desire merely to link the inevitable event to causes already within the reader's ken: to indicate the introduction of a Norman element into the affairs of this country at a moment when, after the rule of three Danish kings, Dane and Saxon coalesced; and I shall avoid all matters which belong to the peculiar study of this period and are beyond the scope of my present work.

A.D. 1043. April 3. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. Ingulph.

On Easter Monday then, at Winchester, with much pomp, Eadward, third of that name in the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, received the crown of England at the hand of Eadsige Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Ælfric Archbishop of York. I find no certain mention of the customary engagements on the king's part, nor of homage by the magnates; neither of any quest after the direct heir of Æthelred II. Yet election, acclamation and the rite, sufficed.

Cf. Flo. Wig. sub anno 1008.

Now Godwine, son of Wlfnoth 'child of Sussex,' the self-outlawed, was grand-nephew of that Eadric Streona who, having married Eadgyth, daughter of King Æthelred, betrayed his country to the Danes; and Godwine's wife, Gytha, Jarl Ulf's widow, was daughter of Astrith, King Cnut's sister, who had been betrothed to Duke Robert II. of Normandy. Godwine had succeeded his father in the earldom of Sussex; and when the Witan divided the realm between Harold and Harthcnut, Godwine, in the interest of the latter, under Queen Emma, ruled all south of Thames. He had served King Harold even to the last behests of royal jealousy. He had purchased peace from Harth-

cnut by gift of a splendid galley sumptuously manned and armed. Of the four provinces into which Cnut had divided England, Godwine held the chief, the wealthier, the more populous, half, while his son Harold ruled in East Anglia. By Godwine's influence in council, (supported by Leofric Earl of Mercia and Leving Bishop of Worcester), Eadward had been raised to the throne. And King Eadward had married Eadgyth, Godwine's daughter—'a rose born of thorns.' Without doubt, then, Godwine, at times, dominated in Eadward's counsels. In his conduct with regard to the violence of his son Sweyn, in the advice he tendered touching international policy, he surely is free from reproach. He is accused of Danish sympathies; yet, under his guidance, Danish chiefs were banished and Danegelt was done away. Whether Godwine were an English patriot, as we would define the term, or espoused national interests as the complement to his ambition, I shall not enquire. So far as he fanned the latent heat of a benumbed people, let him be remembered generously.

Flo. Wig. A.D. 1044. Feb. 2. Ingulph. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1045-7-9.

On the other hand, King Eadward, though born in England, had been brought up in Normandy; 'and, from his long sojourn there, had well-nigh become a Gaul.' 'He brought over with him, or attracted, many from Normandy whom he presented to dignities and greatly exalted. Principal among them Robert, monk of Jumiéges, he made Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, William and Ulf, his chaplains, he made Bishops of London and Dorchester, respectively, Heriman, his priest, Bishop of Ramsbury, Hugolin, his chancellor. 'Under governance of the king and of the other Normans the whole land began to forsake English customs and to imitate the manners of the Franks. All the nobles in their several courts

Ingulph. A.D. 1048. A.D. 1050. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1056.

spoke the Gallic (i. e. Norman-French) tongue as though it had been the great national language and they learned to execute their charters after the manner of the French; in these and in many other ways showing themselves ashamed of their own uses.'

Cf. Ellis, Introd. Domesday, i. 304. 324, Duchesne SS. NN. p. 1023.

Eadward presently welcomed Ralf, his sister Goda's son by Drogo of Mantes, created him *stallere* or marshall of the palace, invested him with estates in Norfolk and committed to him guardianship of the marches of Wales. Ralf (called Earl Ralf) built a castle in Norman fashion and garrisoned it with alien mercenaries. Other Normans, also, built castles; Osbern-Pentecost and one Hugo, westward of London, Robert Wimarce, on the north. Eustace Count of Boulogne, who had recently married the widow Goda, came on a visit to his royal brother-in-law. On his return, halting at Dover, 'one of his men would abide with a certain householder against his will and wounded him; and the householder slew the soldier. Then Eustace gat upon his horse and his companions upon theirs and they fell on that householder and killed him within his own dwelling; and they went upwards towards the town slaughtering, as well within as without, more than twenty men. And the commons slew nineteen men on the other side and wounded they knew not how many. And Eustace escaped with a few and made known to the king, in part, how he had fared.'

A.S.Chron. A.D. 1052. G. Pictav. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1048.

Flo. Wig. 1051.

The chronicles witness to a strong English feeling against the Normans at this time. Eadward hearkened to Count Eustace and bade Godwine chastise Dover. But the earl would not. Whereupon the king summoned the Witan and Godwine beckoned to his sons Sweyn and Harold; and many with them prepared to

Sept. 8.

complain of alien insolence and to avenge the king's disgrace and the whole nation's. Passion rose. Godwine and his sons armed. The Earls Leofric and Siward and Ralf brought up their forces and Welshmen congregated at Gloucester. Godwine failed to justify himself; moreover he demanded, beside surrender of Count Eustace, that the foreign garrisons of Dover and of Hereford should be dismissed. The king bade the ban; and the Witan adjourned to Southwark. Sweyn they outlawed and refused Godwine hostages; granting safe conduct but for five nights that he and his family should go forth from the land. So Godwine and Sweyn 'shoved out their ships' from Bosham (where, I think, the earl had his home) and sailed to Flanders. Harold went to Ireland; and King Eadward put away the lady who had been consecrated his queen, took from her all that she possessed, land, gold, silver, all things, and delivered her to his sister at Wherwell. Abbot Sparhafoc was driven out of the bishopric of London and William, the king's priest, was appointed thereto. Odda, a Norman, was appointed earl over Devon and Somerset and Dorset and over the Welsh in the room of Sweyn; and Ælfgar, Earl Leofric's son, received the earldom (East Anglia) which Harold before held. The faction of the aliens triumphed. At this juncture arrived William, Duke of Normandy. King Eadward entreated him and his retinue very honourably. 'He carried him round the cities, shewed him the royal castles'—even as good King Hezekiah exposed his precious things in sight of the envoys of Merodach Baladan—and at length he sent his guest away home with many gifts.

Cf. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1051.

Sept. 23.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. Ingulph.

The Welsh, under Griffyth, invaded Hereford. Almost simultaneously, Harold and Leofwine his brother

A.D. 1052.

with a large fleet entered the Bristol Channel, ravaged Somerset and Devon and, weathering the Land's End, steered for the Solent; while Godwine, landing in Kent, drew to him the people of the neighbouring counties 'with all the butscarls of Hastings,' and, sailing to
Sept. 14. Wight, joined his sons. By land and sea, then, Godwine and Harold confronted the king's force, army and marine, at London.

The array at Gloucester might be justified—1. legally; inasmuch as Godwine, earl of the district, invoked law in respect of those slain at Dover—since according to the usage not then extinct he should claim compensation—*wergeld*—for the homicide; and the king in harbouring the evildoer had abetted the crime: or 2. morally, on that frequent plea of malcontents that the state was administered by a coterie
Flo. Wig. injurious to the commonweal. But, considering that Godwine and his sons did not dare abide judgment at Southwark and that, in default, the Witan decreed banishment on him and them, this descent—an overt act—becomes significant. I presume that this with what follows is the test of Godwine's character and of Eadward's. I am very sure of imbecility on the one part, of daring on the other: but I hesitate to state that national interests exculpate the earl. With the facts, I am dealing, and with that crisis which the facts help to make clear and with the necessary results.

Flo. Wig. The earl raised a power able to cope with the king. 'There were few of any courage, either on Eadward's or Godwine's side, who were not Englishmen, and such mutually shrank from fighting with their countrymen.' England, then, again lay under thrall of enemies to her peace. Eadward was verily conscious thereof or unworthily fearful when he came to terms. In the general

council he 'gave his earldom clean to Godwine as full and free as he before held it. And they established between them entire friendship; and to all the people promised good laws.' 'And they outlawed all the Frenchmen (Normans) who before had instituted unjust law and judged unjust judgments and counselled evil counsels in this land; excepting only so many as they agreed upon, whom the king liked to have with him, who were true to him and to all his people.' Such were Earl Ralf; William, the Good, Bishop of London; Osbern and Richard son of Scrob (Scrope). 'And Archbishop Robert, leaving his pall behind him, and Bishop Ulf hardly escaped with the Frenchmen that were with them and gat over sea. And Osbern-Pentecost and his comrade Hugo surrendered their castles; and, passing through Mercia under safe conduct of Earl Leofric, took refuge with Macbeth in Scotland:' and they stood in that tyrant's ranks on 'high Dunsinane hill' on that day when Earl Siward triumphed and set Malcolm Canmore on the throne of his ancestors under fealty to King Eadward.

Ellis. Introd. Domesd. i. pp. 406. 485; ii. 193, 206. Flo. Wig.

'And Godwine and Harold and Queen Eadgyth sate down in their possessions. It was on Monday that Godwine came with his ships into Southwark and on Tuesday morning they were reconciled.'

A.D. 1054. A.S.Chron.

'At Easter, on the second day, his sons Harold and Tostig and Gurth beside him, feasting with King Eadward according to his usual custom, Godwine suddenly sank down by the footstool, speechless, bereft of all his power; and, on the fifth day, he delivered up his life. And Harold his son succeeded Godwine in his earldom; having resigned that he before held.'

April 15.

Ælfgar, accordingly, resumed government of East Anglia. Yet, next year, 'without any just cause,' 'with-

A.D. 1055. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. out any kind of guilt' on his part, the king in council banished him. One version of the chronicle, indeed, states that 'it had been cast on Ælfgar that he was a traitor to the king and to all the people of the land' and that 'he made confession of the same, unawares.' But we have not the whole case here. Ældred, Bishop

A.D. 1054. of Worcester, had been sent into Hungary to bring home Eadward, surviving son of Eadmund (Ironside): Godwine, genius of the epoch, had passed away: the proclivity of the country was manifest: precedents of political changes were within memory; and, in the surroundings, there lay before the heir of the wise, noble, Earl of Mercia (son, too, of the pious lady Godive) as straight a path at least as Harold trode.

Oct. 24. Ælfgar, then, having raised a force in Ireland, joined Griffyth in Wales and, within two miles of Hereford, faced Earl Ralf. Now Ralf had bidden his English troops ride in the new fashion. But, just as battle joined, Ralf with his Normans spurred away and the English following from the field, four or five hundred on that part, not one on the other, perished. Griffyth and Ælfgar thereupon entered the city, killed seven canons who defended the church door and fired the monastery; slew, captured, spoiled. At head of the royal musters, Harold, on the king's part, marched from Gloucester

A.S.Chron. through Wales, encamped beyond Snowdon and, finally meeting the insurgents, compelled peace. 'And they inlawed Ælfgar and gave him all that had been taken from him.' The banishment, the rebellion, the inlawry, are they not, severally and together, common forms of a weak despotism, of a disorganised, dissolving, state?

A.S.Chron. Siward dying, earldom of Northumbria was granted to Tostig (Godwine's son), who had married Judith daughter of Baldwin V. Count of Flanders and sister

of Matilda wife of William, Duke of Normandy. Earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon was granted to Siward's heir, Waltheof. Ingulph.

The Welsh again brake out. Leofgar, Harold's chaplain, 'who wore his knapsack during his priesthood,' being now Bishop of Hereford, 'forsook his chrism and his rood and took to spear and sword'—a Norman way—'and taking the field against Griffyth was slain, he and his priests with him,' Ælnoth the sheriff and many good men together. 'It is hard to tell the distress and the marchings and the campings and the much death of men and of horses till the Earls Leofric and Harold and Bishop Ældred came and made reconciliation; so that Griffyth sware that he would be to King Eadward an unbetraying sub-king.' A.D. 1056. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. June 16.

Leofric dying, his son Ælfgar received the earldom of Mercia; and to Gyrth—another son of Godwine—was granted the earldom of Suffolk. Earl Ralf also died. And the Ætheling Eadward, called 'Outlaw,' King Eadmund Ironside's surviving son, arrived from Hungary with his three children, Eadgar-Ætheling, Margaret, Christina; but shortly the Ætheling fell sick, 'a rueful case and harmful for all this nation that he so soon his life did end.' 'From which time all hope of continuing the royal line began to fail.' A.D. 1057. Aug. 31. Flo. Wig. Dec. 21. Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron. Ingulph.

'And again Earl Ælfgar was banished; but he soon came again with violence through Griffyth's aid. And this year came a fleet from Norway, the same being hired by Ælfgar: it is tedious to relate how all these matters went.' A.D. 1058. A.S.Chron. Ingulph.

After midwinter Earl Harold marched from Gloucester to Rhuddlan in Flint and burned Griffyth's vill and his ships and all his stores and put King Griffyth to rout. And when Harold sailed from Bristol about the A.D. 1063.

coast of Wales the people made truce with him and gave hostages. 'Tostig, also, with a land force, pressed into Wales and these two brothers subdued the land.' It may be from this campaign that the vague tradition dates of a stone set up here and there, "Here Harold conquered." 'During harvest, Griffyth's own men slew him; and Harold brought Griffyth's head and the beak of his ship to King Eadward.'

May 20. J. Saresb. Polycratic. vi. 6.

A.D. 1064. Aug. 5. Cf. Ingulph.

About this time, Earl Harold married Eadgyth, daughter of Earl Ælfgar—some say widow also of King Griffyth. And Ælfgar died, and his son Eadwine succeeded to the earldom of Mercia. From the alliance between Harold and Ælfgar, the reader, considering these earls' relation to their king, will draw conclusions which, haply, the subsequent conduct of Earl Eadwine and his brother Morkere may confirm.

G. Gemmet, viii. 31. O. Vit. xii. 11.

A.D. 1065. Oct. 3. Flo. Wig.

Certain Northumbrian thegns rose in arms to avenge the death of Cospatrick who, on the fourth night of Christmas, had been slain at the king's court by order of Queen Eadgyth for sake of her brother Tostig; as also for the murder of Gamul son of Orm and Ulf son of Dolphin whom Tostig had perfidiously caused to be killed within his own chamber at York. Moreover, Tostig had aggrieved the people by excessive taxings. Harold mediated: yet the Witan outlawed Tostig and his abettors. And the thegns—by the king's leave—chose Morkere brother of Earl Eadwine to be their earl.

Oct. 28. Nov. 1.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

King Eadward, 'being in a lingering sickness, held court in London as well as he was able.' And he came to Westminster at midwinter and caused to be consecrated the minster which he himself had built to the glory of God and of S. Peter and of all God's saints. The hallowing was on Childermas Day. And King Eadward, the Pacific, died on Thursday, eve of Epiphany,

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1066. Jan. 5-6.

and they buried him next day in the same minster with royal pomp, amidst tears and lamentations. Dec. 28.

On that very day, after the burial, 'Harold, the vice-king, son of Earl Godwine, being chosen king by the leading men of all England, was immediately crowned with great ceremony by Ældred Archbishop of York; the Primate, Stigand, being under suspension as a schismatic. Flo. Wig. Jan. 6. A.S.Chron. Liber Eliensis, ii. 100. Cf. Chron. Angl. Petrib. pp. 49, 52, 54, 55.

Soon afterwards Tostig returned from Flanders and landed in the Isle of Wight and plundered along the coast to Sandwich. King Harold II. prepared to attack Tostig his brother but Tostig sailed to Lindsey; and, the Earls Eadwine and Morkere driving him thence, he sailed to Malcolm in Scotland.

Meanwhile King Harold had arrived at Sandwich; and, as William Duke of Normandy 'King Eadward's cousin' was preparing an army to invade England, Harold, with his fleet lying off Wight, kept watch all summer and autumn; beside which he set a land force in convenient posts along the shore; but, provision failing, he dismissed both fleet and army. Then Harold-Hardráda King of Norway steered 500 great ships into the Tyne. And, as had been agreed, Tostig with his fleet joining, they together worked up the Humber. In all haste 'day and night' King Harold marched against them; but ere he came nigh the Earls Eadwine and Morkere had fought and had been defeated on the northern bank of Ouse; and the enemy had spoiled York. But King Harold reached them at Stanford Bridge and put to the sword Tostig his brother and Harold-Hardráda and, with a great slaughter, utterly routed the Norwegians and the rebels. And presently William Duke of Normandy landed on the Sussex shore. A.S.Chron. Sept. 8. Sept. 20. Sept. 25. Sept. 29.

TABLE I.

PEDIGREE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND DUKES OF NORMANDY FROM A.D. 878 TO A.D.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COOKE.

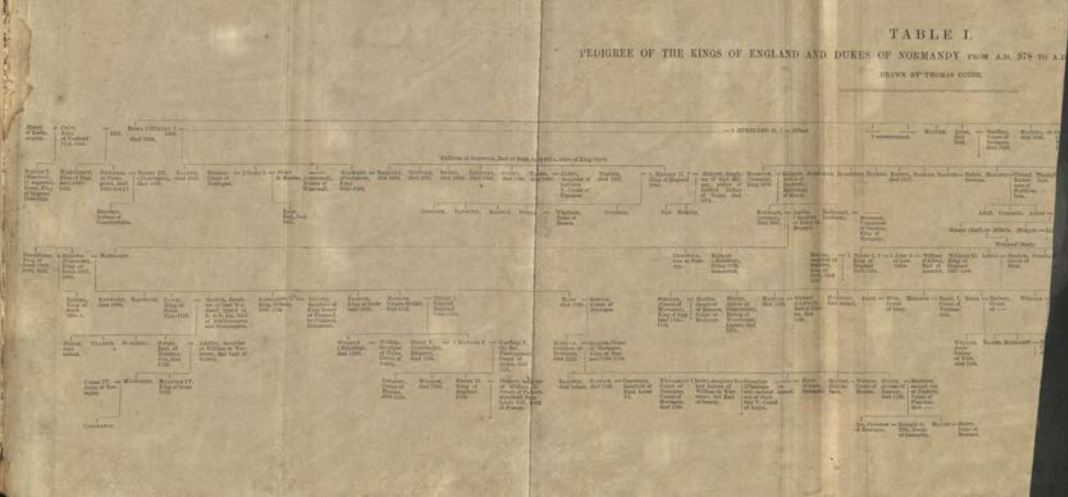


TABLE I.

...S OF NORMANDY FROM A.D. 978 TO A.D. 1154, WITH ABSTRACT OF COLLATERAL DESCENTS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS DUFFUS.

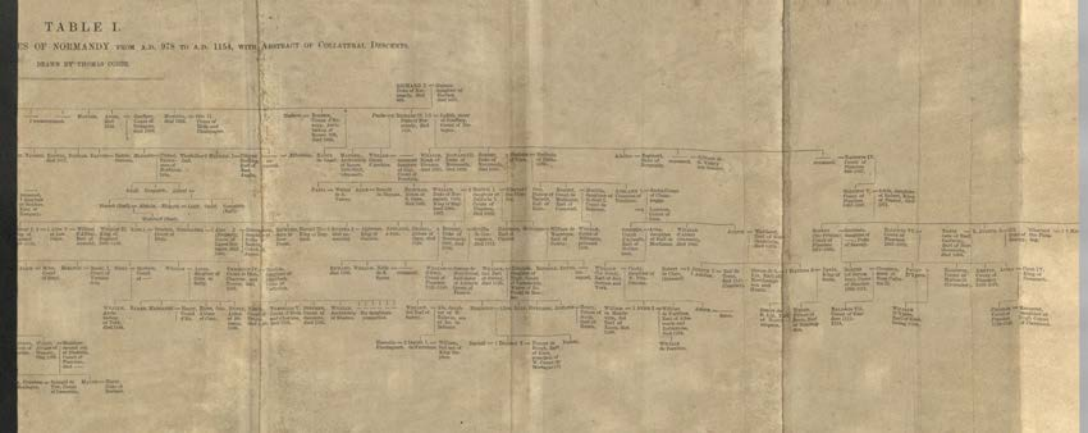


TABLE II.

ILLEGITIMATE ISSUE OF RICHARD I., DUKE OF NORMANDY.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

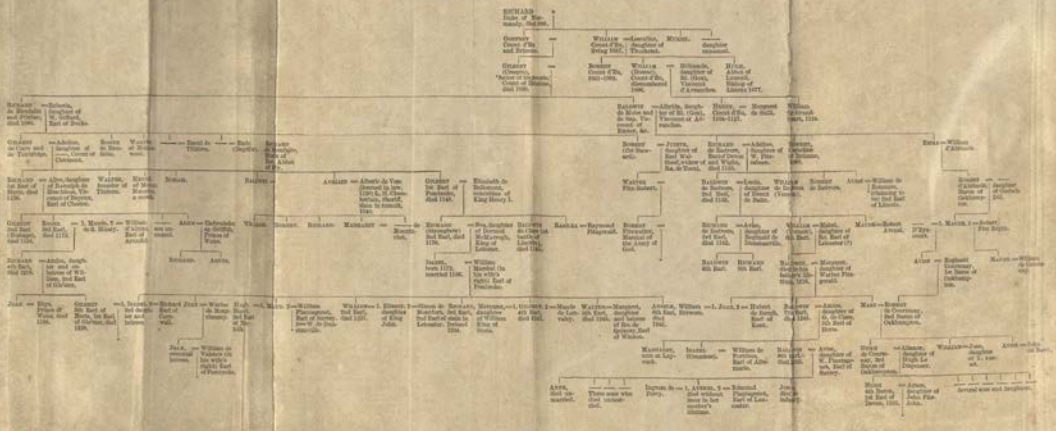


TABLE III.

Illegitimate Issue of WILLIAM II., HENRY I., and STEPHEN, Kings of England.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

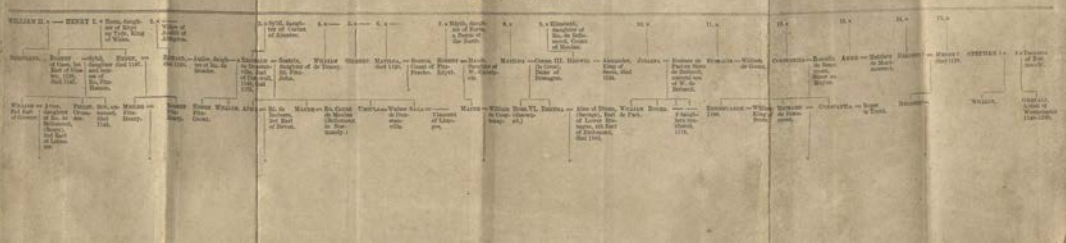


TABLE IV.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

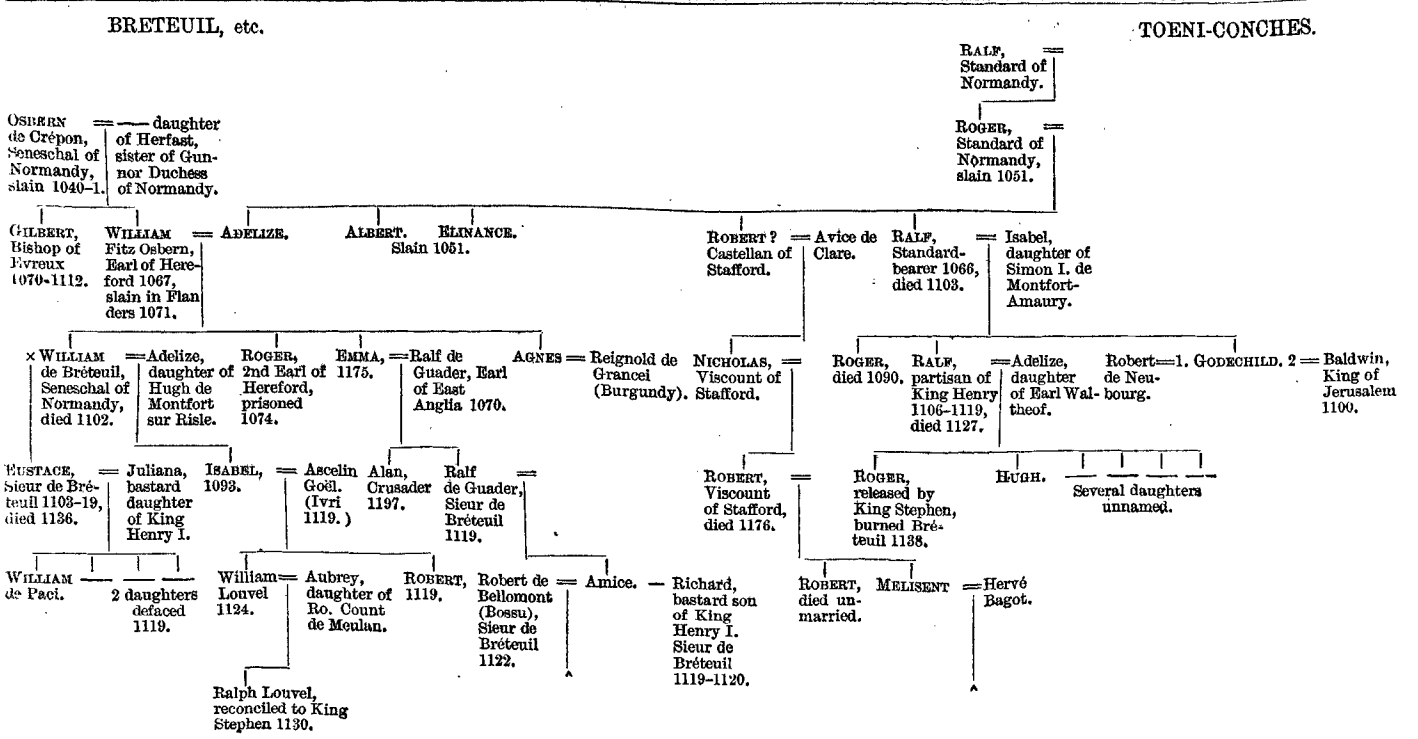

BRETEUIL, etc.
TOENI-CONCHES.
RALF, Standard of Normandy.
ROGER, Standard of Normandy, slain 1051.
OSBERN de Crépon, Seneschal of Normandy, slain 1040-1.
—— daughter of Herfast, sister of Gunnor Duchess of Normandy.
GILBERT, Bishop of Evreux 1070-1112.
WILLIAM Fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford 1067, slain in Flanders 1071.
ADELIZE.
ALBERT. Slain 1051.
ELINANCE.
ROBERT? Castellan of Stafford.
Avice de Clare.
RALF, Standard-bearer 1066, died 1103.
Isabel, daughter of Simon I. de Montfort-Amaury.
× WILLIAM de Bréteuil, Seneschal of Normandy, died 1102.
Adelize, daughter of Hugh de Montfort sur Risle.
ROGER, 2nd Earl of Hereford, prisoned 1074.
EMMA, 1175.
Ralf de Guader, Earl of East Anglia 1070.
AGNES
Reignold de Grancei (Burgundy).
NICHOLAS, Viscount of Stafford.
ROGER, died 1090.
RALF, partisan of King Henry 1106-1119, died 1127.
Adelize, daughter of Earl Waltheof.
Robert de Neubourg.
1. GODECHILD. 2
Baldwin, King of Jerusalem 1100.
EUSTACE, Sieur de Bréteuil 1103-19, died 1136.
Juliana, bastard daughter of King Henry I.
ISABEL, 1093.
Ascelin Goël. (Ivri 1119.)
Alan, Crusader 1197.
Ralf de Guader, Sieur de Bréteuil 1119.
ROBERT, Viscount of Stafford, died 1176.
ROGER, released by King Stephen, burned Bréteuil 1138.
HUGH.
Several daughters unnamed.
WILLIAM de Paci.
2 daughters defaced 1119.
William Louvel 1124.
Aubrey, daughter of Ro. Count de Meulan.
ROBERT, 1119.
Robert de Bellomont (Bossu), Sieur de Bréteuil 1122.
Amice.
Richard, bastard son of King Henry I. Sieur de Bréteuil 1119-1120.
ROBERT, died unmarried.
MELISENT
Hervé Bagot.
Ralph Louvel, reconciled to King Stephen 1130.

TABLE V.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

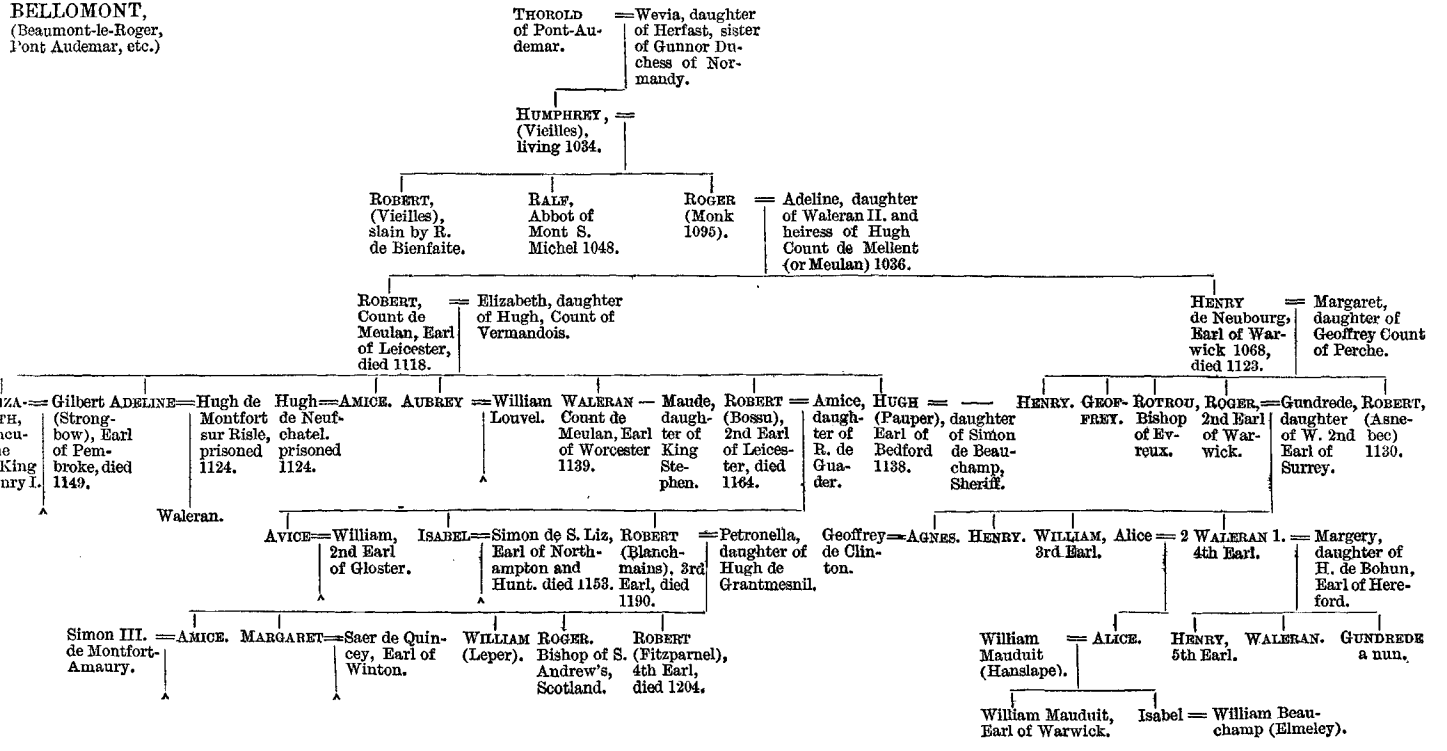

BELLOMONT, (Beaumont-le-Roger, Pont Audemar, etc.)
THOROLD of Pont-Audemar.
Wevia, daughter of Herfast, sister of Gunnor Duchess of Normandy.
HUMPHREY, (Vieilles), living 1034.
ROBERT, (Vieilles), slain by R. de Bienfaite.
RALF, Abbot of Mont S. Michel 1048.
ROGER (Monk 1095).
Adeline, daughter of Waleran II. and heiress of Hugh Count de Mellent (or Meulan) 1036.
ROBERT, Count de Meulan, Earl of Leicester, died 1118.
Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh, Count of Vermandois.
HENRY de Neubourg, Earl of Warwick 1068, died 1123.
Margaret, daughter of Geoffrey Count of Perche.
ELIZABETH, concubine of King Henry I.
Gilbert ADELINE (Strongbow), Earl of Pembroke, died 1149.
Hugh de Montfort sur Risle, prisoned 1124.
Waleran.
Hugh de Neufchatel. prisoned 1124.
AMICE.
AUBREY
William Louvel.
WALERAN Count de Meulan, Earl of Worcester 1139.
Maude, daughter of King Stephen.
ROBERT (Bossu), 2nd Earl of Leicester, died 1164.
Amice, daughter of R. de Guader.
HUGH (Pauper), Earl of Bedford 1138.
daughter of Simon de Beauchamp, Sheriff.
HENRY.
GEOFFREY.
ROTROU, Bishop of Evreux.
ROGER, 2nd Earl of Warwick.
Gundrede, daughter of W. 2nd Earl of Surrey.
ROBERT, (Asnebec) 1130.
AVICE
William, 2nd Earl of Gloster.
ISABEL
Simon de S. Liz, Earl of Northampton and Hunt. died 1153.
ROBERT (Blanchmains), 3rd Earl, died 1190.
Petronella, daughter of Hugh de Grantmesnil.
Geoffrey de Clinton.
AGNES.
HENRY.
WILLIAM, 3rd Earl.
Alice
2 WALERAN 1. 4th Earl.
Margery, daughter of H. de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.
Simon III. de Montfort-Amaury.
AMICE.
MARGARET
Saer de Quincey, Earl of Winton.
WILLIAM (Leper).
ROGER. Bishop of S. Andrew's, Scotland.
ROBERT (Fitzparnel), 4th Earl, died 1204.
William Mauduit (Hanslape).
ALICE.
HENRY, 5th Earl.
WALERAN.
GUNDREDE a nun.
William Mauduit, Earl of Warwick.
Isabel
William Beauchamp (Elmeley).

TABLE VI.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

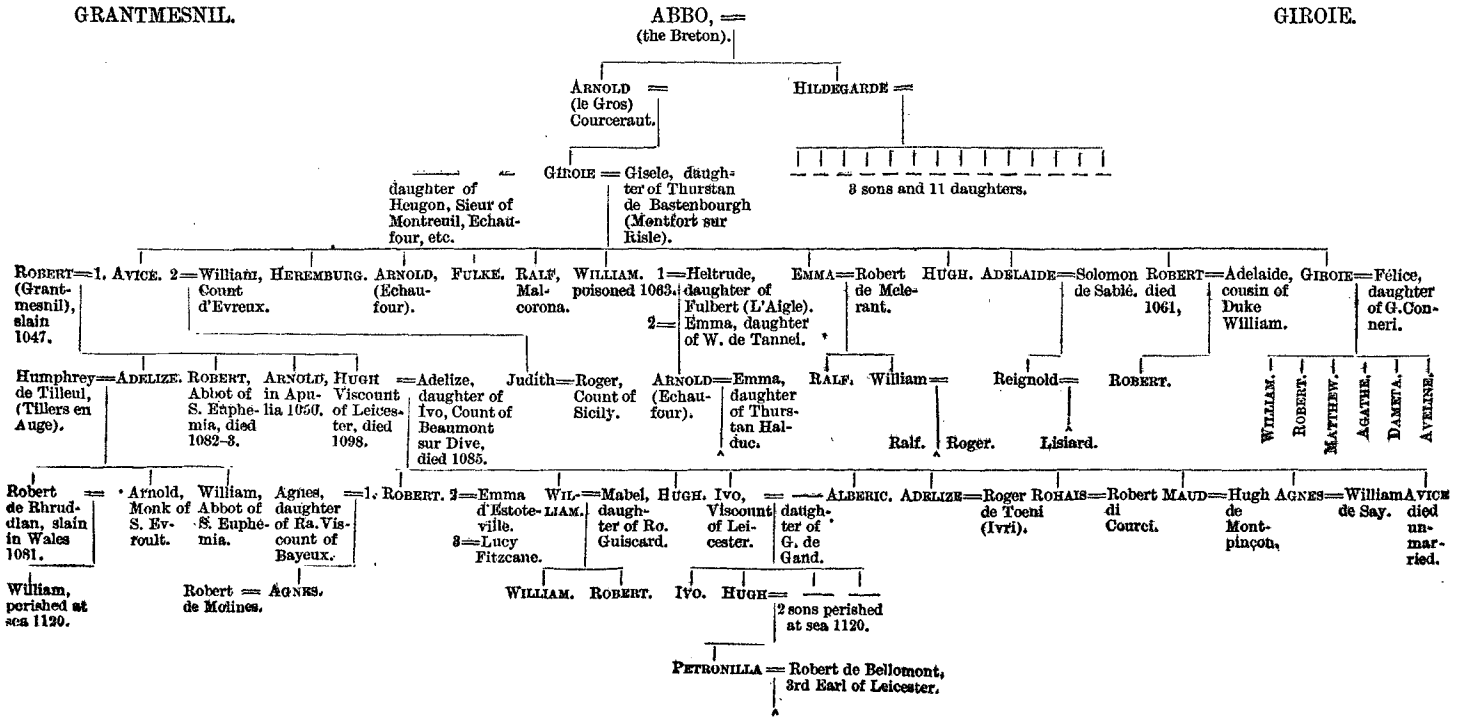


TABLE VII.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

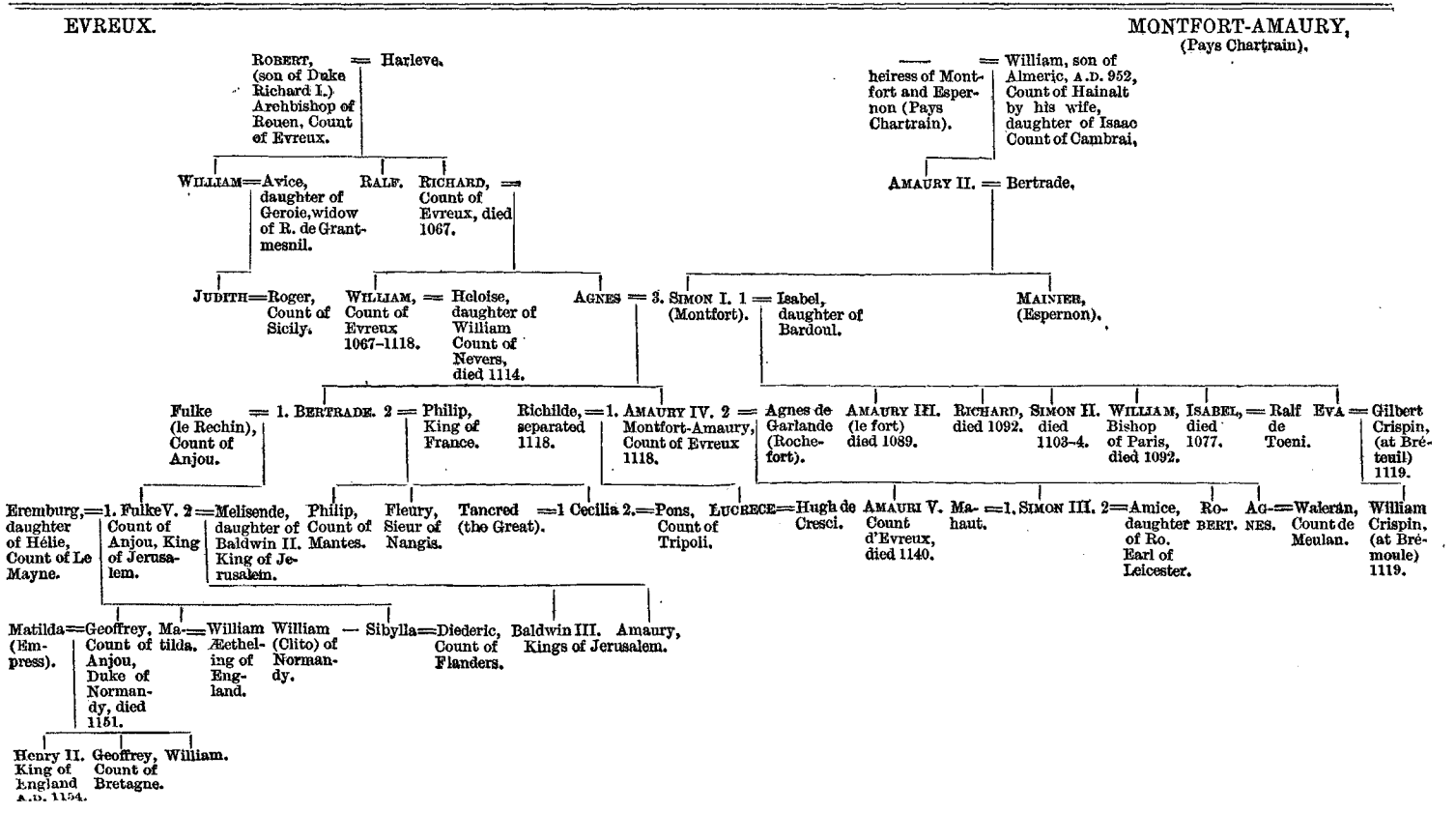

EVREUX.
MONTFORT-AMAURY, (Pays Chartrain).
ROBERT, (son of Duke Richard I.) Archbishop of Rouen, Count of Evreux. = Harleve.
WILLIAM = Avice, daughter of Geroie, widow of R. de Grantmesnil.
RALF.
RICHARD, = Count of Evreux, died 1067.
JUDITH = Roger, Count of Sicily.
WILLIAM, Count of Evreux 1067–1118. = Heloise, daughter of William Count of Nevers, died 1114.
AGNES = 3. SIMON I. 1 = Isabel, daughter of Bardoul. (Montfort).
Fulke (le Rechin), Count of Anjou. = 1. BERTRADE. 2 = Philip, King of France.
Richilde, = separated 1118.
1. AMAURY IV. 2 = Montfort-Amaury, Count of Evreux 1118.
Agnes de Garlande (Rochefort).
AMAURY III. (le fort) died 1089.
RICHARD, died 1092.
SIMON II. died 1103–4.
WILLIAM, Bishop of Paris, died 1092.
ISABEL, died 1077. = Ralf de Toeni.
EVA = Gilbert Crispin, (at Bréteuil) 1119.
Eremburg, daughter of Hélie, Count of Le Mayne. = 1. FulkeV. 2 = Melisende, daughter of Baldwin II. King of Jerusalem.
Philip, Count of Mantes.
Fleury, Sieur of Nangis.
Tancred (the Great).
=1 Cecilia 2. = Pons, Count of Tripoli.
LUCRECE = Hugh de Cresci.
AMAURI V. Count d'Evreux, died 1140.
Mahaut. = 1. SIMON III. 2 = Amice, daughter of Ro. Earl of Leicester.
ROBERT.
AGNES. = Walerán, Count de Meulan.
William Crispin, (at Brémoule) 1119.
Matilda (Empress). = Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, died 1151.
Matilda. = William Ætheling of England.
William (Clito) of Normandy.
— Sibylla = Diederic, Count of Flanders.
Baldwin III. Kings of Jerusalem.
Amaury,
Henry II. King of England A.D. 1154.
Geoffrey, Count of Bretagne.
William.

TABLE VIII.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

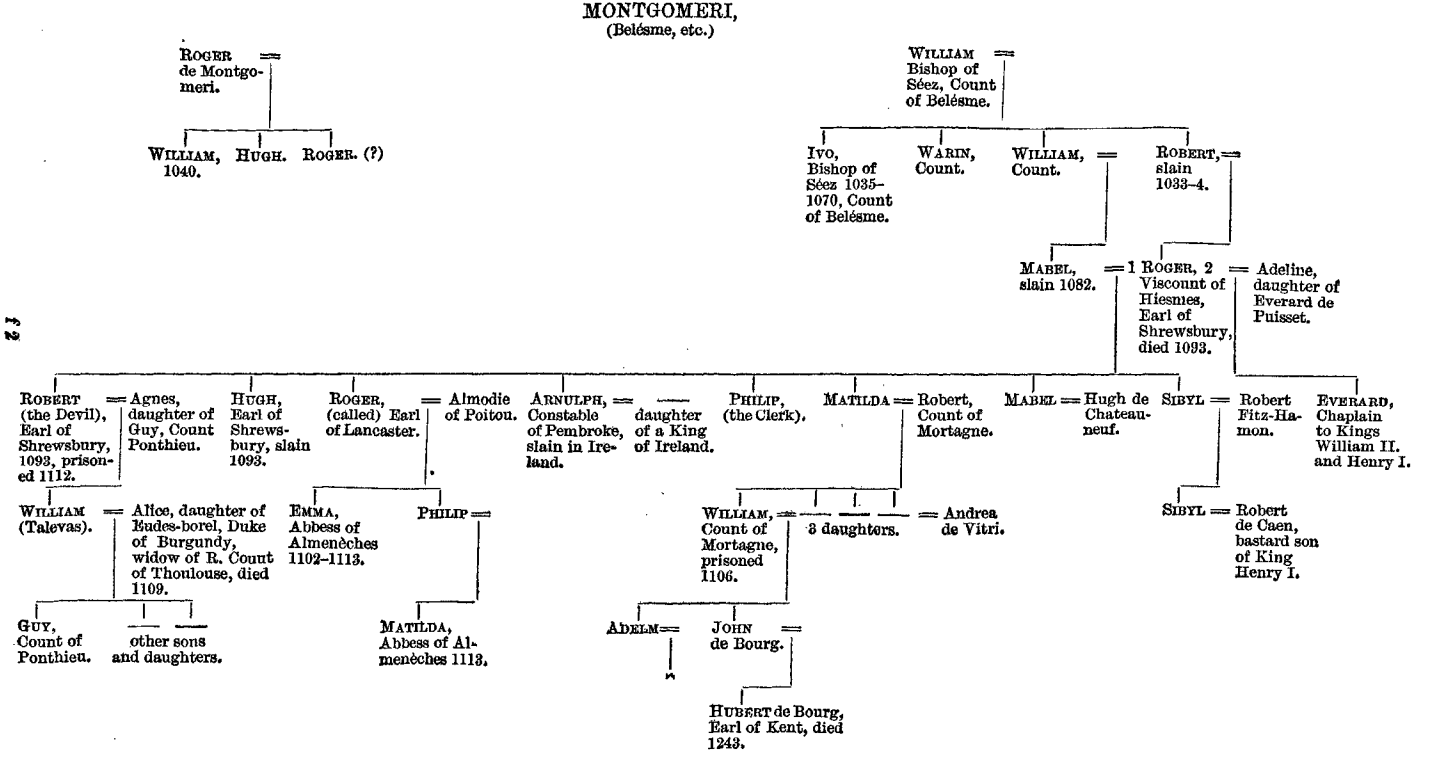

MONTGOMERI,
(Belésme, etc.)
ROGER de Montgomeri.
WILLIAM, 1040.
HUGH.
ROGER. (?)
WILLIAM Bishop of Séez, Count of Belésme.
IVO, Bishop of Séez 1035–1070, Count of Belésme.
WARIN, Count.
WILLIAM, Count.
ROBERT, slain 1033–4.
MABEL, slain 1082.
1 ROGER, 2 Viscount of Hiesmes, Earl of Shrewsbury, died 1093.
Adeline, daughter of Everard de Puisset.
ROBERT (the Devil), Earl of Shrewsbury, 1093, prisoned 1112.
Agnes, daughter of Guy, Count Ponthieu.
HUGH, Earl of Shrewsbury, slain 1093.
ROGER, (called) Earl of Lancaster.
Almodie of Poitou.
ARNULPH, Constable of Pembroke, slain in Ireland.
daughter of a King of Ireland.
PHILIP, (the Clerk).
MATILDA
Robert, Count of Mortagne.
MABEL
Hugh de Chateauneuf.
SIBYL
Robert Fitz-Hamon.
EVERARD, Chaplain to Kings William II. and Henry I.
WILLIAM (Talevas).
Alice, daughter of Eudes-borel, Duke of Burgundy, widow of R. Count of Thoulouse, died 1109.
EMMA, Abbess of Almenèches 1102–1113.
PHILIP
WILLIAM, Count of Mortagne, prisoned 1106.
3 daughters.
Andrea de Vitri.
SIBYL
Robert de Caen, bastard son of King Henry I.
GUY, Count of Ponthieu.
other sons and daughters.
MATILDA, Abbess of Almenèches 1113.
ADELM
JOHN de Bourg.
HUBERT de Bourg, Earl of Kent, died 1243.

TABLE IX.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

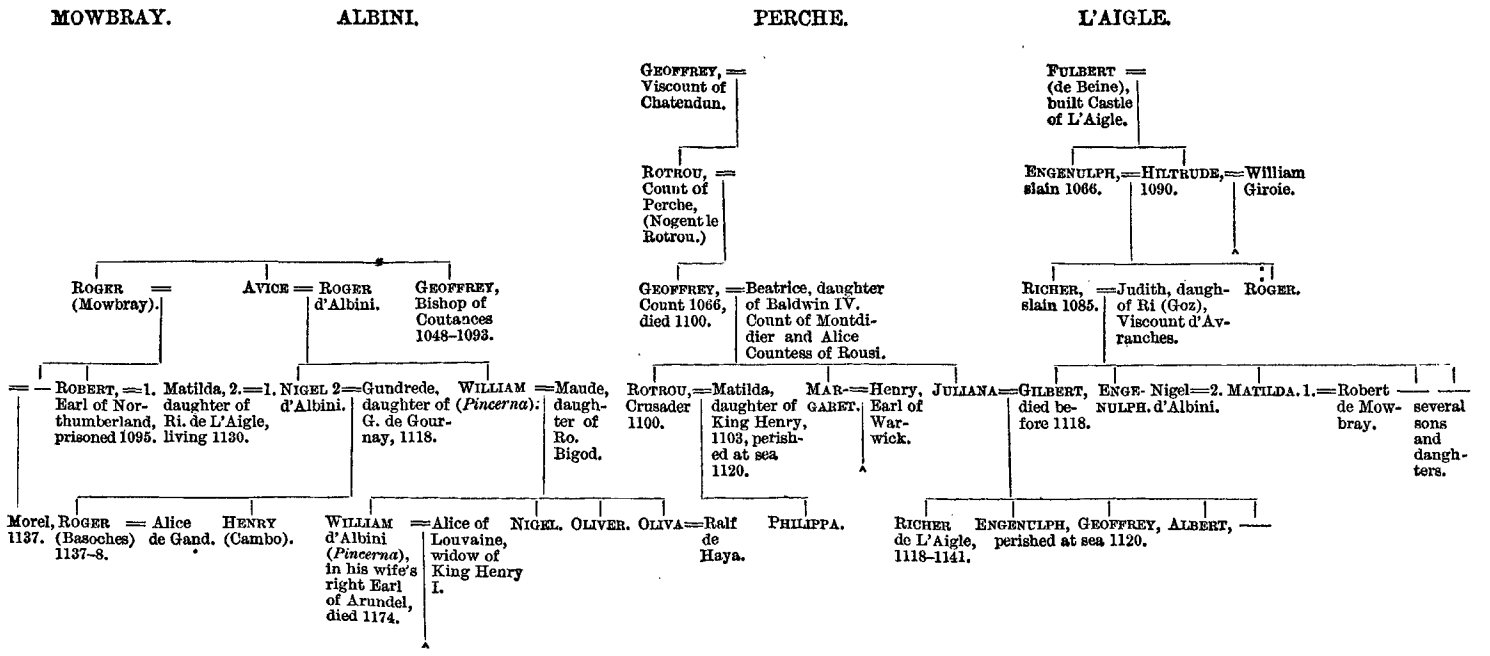

MOWBRAY.
ALBINI.
PERCHE.
L'AIGLE.
Geoffrey, = Viscount of Chatendun.
Rotrou, = Count of Perche, (Nogent le Rotrou.)
Geoffrey, = Count 1066, died 1100.
Beatrice, daughter of Baldwin IV. Count of Montdidier and Alice Countess of Rousi.
Fulbert = (de Beine), built Castle of L'Aigle.
Engenulph, = slain 1066.
Hiltrude, = 1090.
William Giroie.
Richer, = slain 1085.
Judith, daughter of Ri (Goz), Viscount d'Avranches.
Roger.
Roger = (Mowbray).
Avice = Roger d'Albini.
Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances 1048–1093.
= — Robert, = Earl of Northumberland, prisoned 1095.
1. Matilda, daughter of Ri. de L'Aigle, living 1130.
2. = 1. Nigel d'Albini.
2 = Gundrede, daughter of G. de Gournay, 1118.
William = (Pincerna):
Maude, daughter of Ro. Bigod.
Rotrou, = Crusader 1100.
Matilda, daughter of King Henry, 1103, perished at sea 1120.
Mar- garet.
= Henry, Earl of Warwick.
Juliana = Gilbert, died before 1118.
Enge- nulph.
Nigel = d'Albini.
2. Matilda. 1. = Robert de Mowbray.
several sons and daughters.
Morel, 1137.
Roger (Basoches) 1137–8.
= Alice de Gand.
Henry (Cambo).
William d'Albini (Pincerna), in his wife's right Earl of Arundel, died 1174.
= Alice of Louvaine, widow of King Henry I.
Nigel.
Oliver.
Oliva = Ralf de Haya.
Philippa.
Richer de L'Aigle, 1118–1141.
Engenulph, perished at sea 1120.
Geoffrey,
Albert,

TABLE X.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

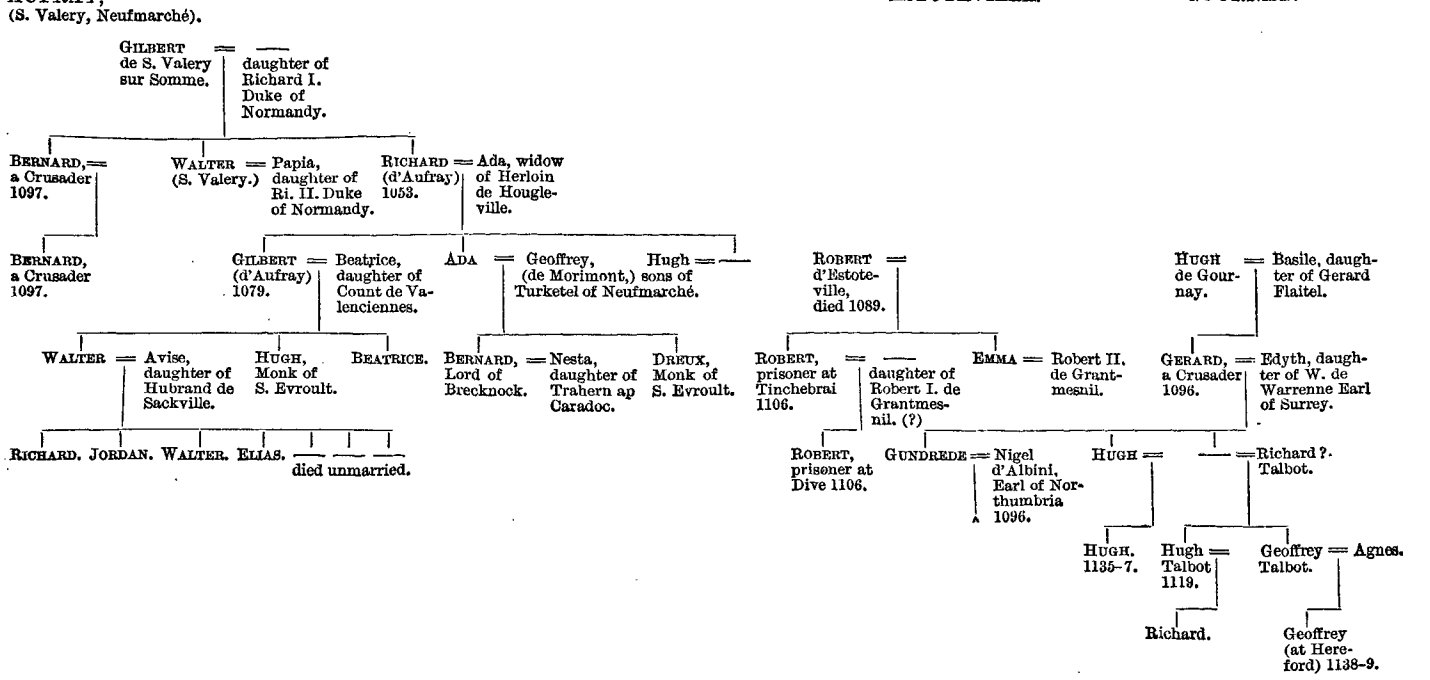

AUFRAY,
(S. Valery, Neufmarché).
ESTOTEVILLE.
GOURNAY.
GILBERT de S. Valery sur Somme. = — daughter of Richard I. Duke of Normandy.
BERNARD, a Crusader 1097.
WALTER (S. Valery.) = Papia, daughter of Ri. II. Duke of Normandy.
RICHARD (d'Aufray) 1053. = Ada, widow of Herloin de Hougleville.
BERNARD, a Crusader 1097.
GILBERT (d'Aufray) 1079. = Beatrice, daughter of Count de Valenciennes.
ADA = Geoffrey, (de Morimont,) Hugh = — sons of Turketel of Neufmarché.
WALTER = Avise, daughter of Hubrand de Sackville.
HUGH, Monk of S. Evroult.
BEATRICE.
BERNARD, Lord of Brecknock. = Nesta, daughter of Trahern ap Caradoc.
DREUX, Monk of S. Evroult.
RICHARD. JORDAN. WALTER. ELIAS. — — — — died unmarried.
ROBERT d'Estoteville, died 1089.
ROBERT, prisoner at Tinchebrai 1106. = — daughter of Robert I. de Grantmesnil. (?)
EMMA = Robert II. de Grantmesnil.
ROBERT, prisoner at Dive 1106.
GUNDREDE = Nigel d'Albini, Earl of Northumbria 1096.
HUGH de Gournay. = Basile, daughter of Gerard Flaitel.
GERARD, a Crusader 1096. = Edyth, daughter of W. de Warrenne Earl of Surrey.
HUGH = — = Richard ?. Talbot.
HUGH. 1135-7.
Hugh = Talbot 1119.
Geoffrey = Agnes. Talbot.
Richard.
Geoffrey (at Hereford) 1138-9.

TABLE XI.—NORMAN SEIGNEURS.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

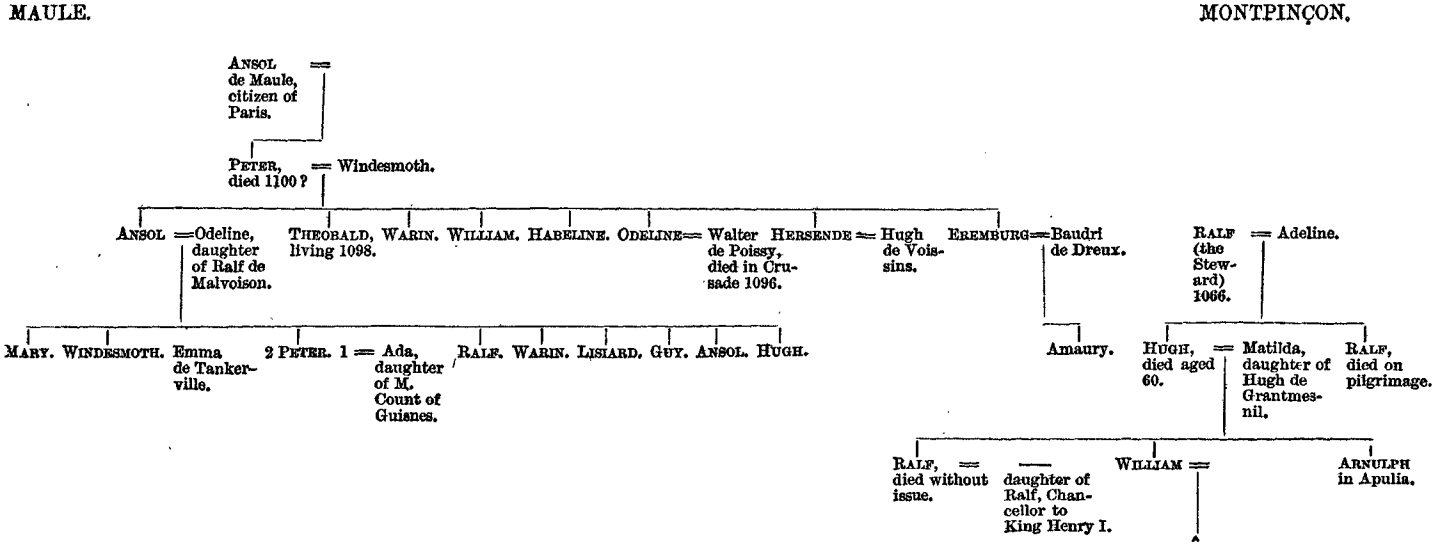
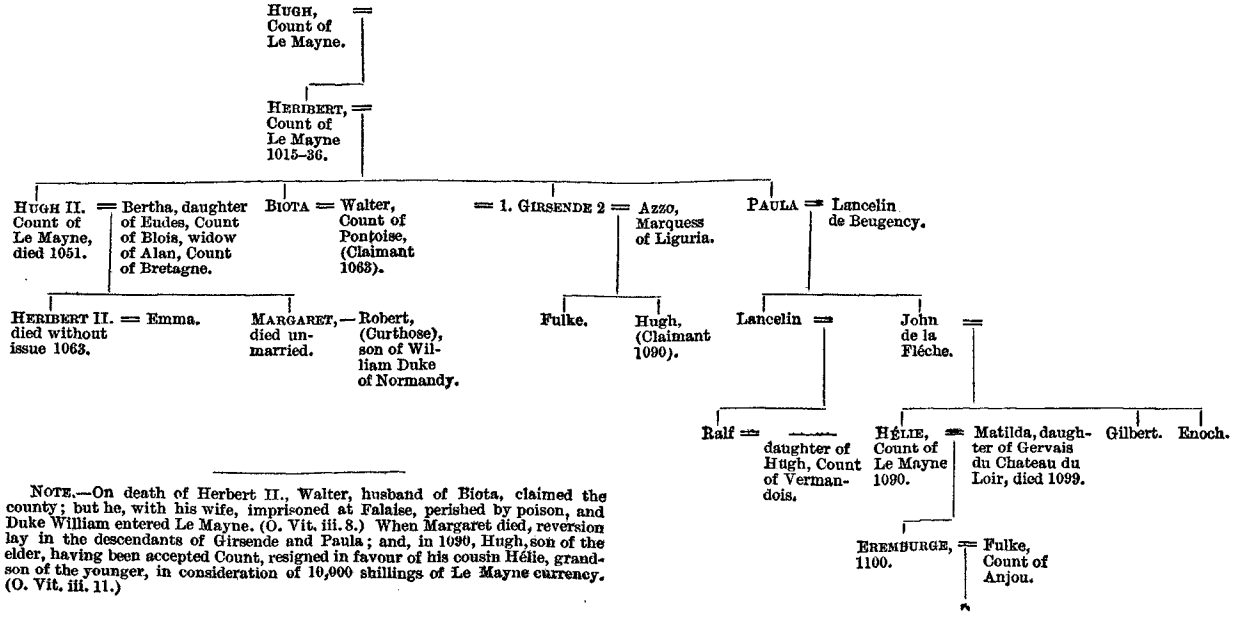


TABLE XII.—COUNTS OF LE MAYNE.

DRAWN BY THOMAS COBBE.

(*In correction of page* 111.)


HUGH, Count of Le Mayne.
HERIBERT, Count of Le Mayne 1015–36.
HUGH II. Count of Le Mayne, died 1051.
Bertha, daughter of Eudes, Count of Blois, widow of Alan, Count of Bretagne.
BIOTA
Walter, Count of Pontoise, (Claimant 1063).
1. GIRSENDE 2
Azzo, Marquess of Liguria.
PAULA
Lancelin de Beugency.
HERIBERT II. died without issue 1063.
Emma.
MARGARET, died unmarried.
Robert, (Curthose), son of William Duke of Normandy.
Fulke.
Hugh, (Claimant 1090).
Lancelin
John de la Flèche.
Ralf
daughter of Hugh, Count of Vermandois.
HÉLIE, Count of Le Mayne 1090.
Matilda, daughter of Gervais du Chateau du Loir, died 1099.
Gilbert.
Enoch.
EREMBURGE, 1100.
Fulke, Count of Anjou.

NOTE.—On death of Herbert II., Walter, husband of Biota, claimed the county; but he, with his wife, imprisoned at Falaise, perished by poison, and Duke William entered Le Mayne. (O. Vit. iii. 8.) When Margaret died, reversion lay in the descendants of Girsende and Paula; and, in 1090, Hugh, son of the elder, having been accepted Count, resigned in favour of his cousin Hélie, grandson of the younger, in consideration of 10,000 shillings of Le Mayne currency. (O. Vit. iii. 11.)

WILLIAM I.

A.D. 1066—1087.

CONTEMPORARY POTENTATES.

Emperor	Popes	King of France	King of Scots
HENRY I.	ALEXANDER II. d. 1073.	PHILIP I.	MALCOLM III. (Canmore).
	GREGORY VII. d. 1085.		
	VICTOR III. d. 1087.		

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE THROUGHOUT.

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

INGULPH.

EADMER.

WILLIAM OF JUMIÈGES, 1066.

WILLIAM OF POITIERS, 1066.
(Continuation preserved in Orderic Vitalis till 1070.)

GUIDO OF AMIENS, 1066.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM I.

THE Duke of Normandy's claim to the crown of England was threefold: 1. Under will of the late king, which presumed consanguinity: 2. A secret compact with Harold, now on the throne: 3. Conquest. A.D. 1066.

By the last of these, only, did William reign. But I shall examine the two former claims shortly; because the first will give an insight to customs of this country in the relation of king and people; and the insinuation made in the second is typical of the casuistry and of the expedients then in vogue, and moreover explains some incidents of the Conquest.

First, then, as to the consanguinity of William and Eadward. Richard I., Duke of Normandy, left, among other children, a son, Richard II., Duke of Normandy, grandfather of William, and a daughter, Emma, second wife of Æthelred II., King of England, to whom Eadward (Confessor) was born. But this common blood raised no right in William to succeed Eadward; inasmuch as England had not been in possession of a common ancestor, and there was no royal blood of England in William's veins: albeit, conversely, Eadward might have succeeded in Normandy; for Eadward, through his mother, was in the line of ducal descent. Again, issue of Æthelred by his first wife survived: and William could show no nearness to the throne; nor, indeed, was the royal stock limited to the branch of

CHAP. I.

Eadmund Ironside; for, beside others traceable, four daughters of Æthelred had intermarried with native thegns. But the presumption that all these lines had ceased—that the majesty of England lay dormant—may be explained and refuted at once. It happened, on the murder of King Eadmund (Ironside), that, his infant sons being sent to Sweden, thence to Hungary, the Danish tyranny had intervened. That abruptly ending, Eadward (Confessor) became king. He dying childless, Harold received the crown. There had been for twenty-six years an alien dynasty on the throne: during twenty-four years a restoration, which ignored the elder family: lastly, a stranger to the royal blood. Ill-informed foreigners might, therefore, deem these facts conclusive. Notwithstanding, all lineal rights of inheritance had been but in abeyance; and now, after more than half a century, reverted to the issue of Eadmund (Ironside). Eadmund (Outlaw) had long since deceased, childless; but Eadward (the younger), with his three children, had returned nine years before King Eadward's death. This Eadward also had deceased; yet his son Eadgar, the Ætheling or Prince emphatically, had become, and was recognised by the English nation as, the lineal heir male of Æthelred II., true representative of the race of Cerdic.

See Introd.

Secondly, as to the late king's testament. No writing of the sort appeared. It is very doubtful whether Eadward had named his successor by word of mouth. Saxon and Norman chroniclers, agreed in asserting such a will, are at variance as to the person designated thereby. And it may be that the fact of conquest rendered enquiry at the time inexpedient. The arguments adduced, however, are of interest. A Saxon monk states that 'Eadward the Ætheling, son of King

Flo. Wig. A.D. 1057.

CHAP. I.

Eadmund Ironside, accepting the invitation of his uncle, returned from Hungary, whither he had been exiled; for the king had determined to appoint him his successor and heir to the crown.' To this a monk of Norman parentage and of a later day accedes; adding, in another place, that 'the king had at one time' (namely, after Eadward Ætheling's death) 'recommended Eadgar Ætheling as nearest to the sovereignty in point of birth.' Again, in nearly the same words, they who follow the Saxon chronicle assert that, 'before his death the king had committed the realm to a high-born man, Harold's self, the noble earl, the vice-king, son of Godwine.' On the other hand, long subsequently, the Anglo-Norman accepts the Norman view that 'Eadward, losing hope of support, so soon as his nephew had deceased, gave the succession to his cousin, William,' adding, from his own standpoint, 'Moreover, he was very jealous of Harold's family.'

W. Malm. de Gestis Reg. iii.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. Ro. Hoved.

W. Malm.

Sed vide Ingulph.

Now it is admitted that Eadward (Outlaw) had been neither valiant nor a man of ability. The Ætheling, his son, gave proof of imprudence, but evinced no strain worthy of his cause. Yet it is very certain that a party among the nobles—perhaps the great mass of freeholders, too—would fain have raised Eadgar to the throne. Nevertheless, even after Harold's death, no unanimity—no call—in his behalf obtained. The bishops refused him support. And it may be inferred that, since he was not deemed capable of ruling, the Confessor did not enforce his claim to the succession—'*Regio solio minus idoneus tam corde quam corpore.*' In fact, Eadgar Ætheling, void of honourable ambition, as if conscious of inaptitude, retired from this contest, and passed a long life ingloriously. But it is yet quite

A.S.Chron.

Ingulph.

A.D. 1065, cf. Ailred. de Geneal.

CHAP. I.

consistent that King Eadward should in the first place have regarded Eadward (Outlaw) as his heir; then, on his decease, Eadgar; and lastly, on the patent inaptness of the Ætheling, have indicated some other person as fit to reign. But the proposition that he did so is uncertain.

Reg. Angl. col. 366. W. Malm.

That Eadward named Harold—a man of whom he was very jealous, the son of Godwine whom he had feared and hated, the brother of his queen with whom (without reproach on her) he refused to cohabit—is not credible, unless we attribute to this king more political wisdom and greater nobleness of heart than haply we could justify. Yet the Conqueror's chaplain says expressly that Eadward on his deathbed named Harold to be his successor. But Harold, by all accounts one of nature's princes, had for some while past executed public affairs as vice-king; we may suspect, but we cannot prove, intrigue on his part; and national favour and confidence meeting in him, it is very likely that popular imagination should claim for him the suffrage of the deceased king, whom also it revered. As a fact, on the very day of Eadward's funeral, Harold, elected by the leading men of all England, received the crown in due form. The choosing of Harold possibly depended not a little on a reaction in the English mind against the Normanizing character of King Eadward's rule, and on some latent fear that the Ætheling Eadgar, if elected, might follow in that course.

G. Pictav., p. 200.

Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron.

As to the 'bequest' to William, a similar impression among his own people might be looked for. But every assertion of this bequest seems due, in the first place, to Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Norman protégée of Eadward's, whom, on a time, Harold's

Cf. Ingulph, sub annis 1051–1065. O. Vital. iii. 11.

father had thrust from his see. By itself, Robert's statement is of little worth; nor does it gain strength by iteration. But, coupling the imputed unfitness of the Ætheling with the suggestion that Eadward bore no affection to his elder brother's issue: giving weight to the king's prejudices against Godwine's family, and the royal objection to Harold's birth: above all, recollecting King Eadward's extreme partiality for Normans, for Norman usages, and, it is said, for William personally: there is much ground for believing that it may have been the Confessor's desire to advance the Duke of Normandy to the English throne; though, in truth, no evidence exists other than conflicting wills in a weak but not unjust king, and the passionate averments of national feeling. To accept the primate's tale, however, involves larger questions of English law and custom than Normans or Norman-toned writers could conceive. For, even had the dying king, in presence of the Witan declared his successor, that act would have availed no further than as an expression of his pleasure and opinion in the matter. England was free to choose its king. I shall consider this point.

By the time that the Saxon and Angle tribes had settled themselves in England, all had acknowledged, in the reputed descendants of Woden, royal races. Among these, in each kingdom, the prime claim to succession tacitly lay in the first-born son of the late king. But in days of constant warfare, and amidst turbulent surroundings, when it behoved a people to experience the valour and wisdom of its leader and representative, interruptions happened in the lineal descent; and the symbol of authority passed, as of course, to him who might best vindicate the common weal.

CHAP. I.

Thus, then, it stood: a claim to be first considered subsisted in the whole royal family; the nearer in blood to the late king, the higher that claim, the more certainly, for many reasons, was it recognised. But none had right to be elected: none had privilege to reign, except by suffrage of the community. Kings, indeed, had shared or parted with their sceptres; but the Mortuary Act was unknown in England. And under no circumstances had the sceptre passed without a general consent. Again, although the old Teutonic habit of military suffrage by clangour of arms and the raising the chosen chief upon a buckler had ceased, the natural right to elect the king existed. And even when the dying prince or the more powerful thegns had indicated the person, the freemen—*i.e.* the whole body of the people, as then known to law—assented or refused at will. Out of many, a few examples will suffice, because the precept continued to be acted on in more modern times, and the form of proclamation at the present day substantially admits the right to challenge it. 'King Eadwig, for his evil administration, was entirely forsaken of the Mercians and Northumbrians; since, through vanity cherishing the ignorant and wicked, he disgusted all wise and noble men, who, unanimously agreeing on his deposition, by direction of God, chose his brother Eadgar to be their king, and, by the people's will, parted the kingdom.' The first Eadmund had been assassinated. His sons being infant, the Witan called Eadred to the throne: so also recently, Waltheof being immature, Siward's earldom had been conferred on Tostig: in the first case the younger brother, in the second a stranger, succeeding. Eadgar left two sons of tender age. With consent of his court he had designated the

A.S.Chron. A.D. 957.

Flo. Wig. A.D. 946. Cf. Spelm. vit. Ælfred. I. 9. Asser. de gestis Ælfr. p. 4. Eadmer, i. p. 220.

elder. Yet many thegns, insisting on the right of election, declared for the younger; and only by prompt action of the primate who, on the spot, consecrated the former, did the second Eadward reign. Lastly—and perhaps herein lay the precedent cherished by the Normans—Eadmund Ironside had consigned his children's interest to Cnut. He had even overlooked the claims of his own brothers to act in a protectorate: and, in electing Cnut, the nobles, bishops, ealdormen, thegns, and all the chief men of England, obsequiously declared brothers and sons of Eadmund for ever unworthy of the crown. Applying these principles to the present case, it becomes clear that, with all renewed reverence for the royal stock, England, at this crisis, preferred Harold to Eadgar Ætheling. The latter yet young, feeble in some sort, reared in a distant land; the former mature, possessed of all gracious faculties, expert in governing, of approved courage and skill. Immediately on Eadward's decease, some proclaimed the heir Eadgar; but the nation elected Harold, nor did it, in Harold's time, agitate in the Ætheling's behalf —still less in the Pretender's. When Harold fell, cries for the Ætheling were quickly hushed in the terror which ensued. But England did not freely choose William the stranger. It submitted to his arms, by uprisings and sullen obstruction making such protest as it dared.

Flo. Wig.

Ingulph, A.D. 1065.

H. Hunt.

Now as to the compact as ground of claim. Harold's visit to Normandy, about three years previous to King Eadward's decease, unnoticed by the purely Saxon chroniclers, is related variously by the Norman and Anglo-Norman writers. Briefly, the story is this: with consent of the nobles, King Eadward sent Earl Harold to make proffer of the crown of England to the Duke of

Roman de Rou, vv. 10729 sq.

H. Hunt.

W. Malm.

CHAP. I.

Normandy. Some add, with pledges thereon. Another version is that, while taking pastime, fishing off Bosham on the Sussex shore, Harold being caught in a tempest was wafted across channel. Somehow, it would seem, he drave on the coast of Ponthieu. Whereupon, according to wont, the populace carried him in fetters, as a waif, to Count Guy their lord. Harold appealing to William, offered ransom. William intervening, mutual confidence arose from mutual respect. In effect, these two then made a pact: the one promising present delivery of Dover Castle and eventual possession of the kingdom; the other offering his daughter in marriage, and obliging himself to confirm to her betrothed all his patrimony at home. Farther, it is attested that in presence of the Norman court, Harold took oath of allegiance to William; and, on holy relics—(such being hidden in a tub, covered by a pall)—sware to all that was required of him. In this last, several accounts accord; albeit the exact terms of what was then required of Harold are not stated. Moreover, the occasion is throughout misgiven. Harold, it is better witnessed, went to Normandy voluntarily, with a view to obtain release of his brother (Wulfnoth) and nephew, who severally had been retained as hostages at the duke's court from the time of Godwine's revolt. Sanctioned by Eadward or not, wrecked or otherwise captured, thus, verily, Harold found himself in William's power. And, since it is very credible that in such case the matters in William's breast were made the basis of Harold's detention or release, it may be that Harold submitted to all that was demanded of him. But Harold's acts fulfilled no part of these arrangements: indeed he is represented by the Normans as freeing himself from all ties to William by reason of the Will of Eadward, which had set

G. Pictav. G. Gemmet. Wido de Bello, v. 295.

G. Pictav. R. Hoved. Roman de Rou, vv. 10824 sq.

Note of French editors of O. Vital. iii. 11.

CHAP. I.

the crown upon his head; nor were his kinsmen manumitted. He paid no ransom to the Count of Ponthieu: he did not deliver up Dover Castle, nor did he wed William's child, nor take means to further William's interests in England. It seems true that Harold betrothed himself to the Adelize Agatha, who, then infant, shortly deceased. But the undertaking on Harold's part to yield the chief hold of the Cinque ports—Dover, which Earl Godwine, in arms, had demanded to be purged of Normans—and to subjugate his country to an alien domination, requires proof; and the more since, in either alternative, Harold's patriotism or his self-seeking would be oppugned. It results, then, that Harold made no special promise of securing the crown to William, or that he considered himself absolved from any promise given under duress. Indeed, accepting the Norman story, the disingenuous advantage taken of his shipwreck, the violence offered to one privileged as an ambassador, the profane trick practised with intent to engage his conscience, all detract from Harold's free will in any department of the transaction; and, according to the religious habits of the day, doubtlessly he would have stood absolved. Neither does any portion of the story tally with the presumed purpose of Eadward to bequeath his crown to William. Had Harold borne a message to that effect, there had been no need of binding him to obey it. And, surely, some other than Harold, the meritorious vice-king, the ambitious son of ambitious Godwine, himself the Saxon ideal of a hero, should have proclaimed that strange, that derogatory doom. Harold, while in Normandy at this juncture, swore to somewhat having reference to the succession; but farther, no accumulation of testimony now extant leads us.

G. Pictav. *ut supra.*

Eadmer. G. Gemmet. G. Pictav.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1066.

But a 'secret treaty' of another sort, with another Englishman, may be suspected. Tostig, Harold's brother, had married Judith, sister of Matilda, Duchess of Normandy. And the baseness attributed to Harold more certainly attaches to Tostig. For, on his brother's accession, Tostig, envious, violent ever, began to disturb the realm; and, in effect, ruined his country's hopes. Norman writers intimate that Tostig made alliance with William and with the Count of Flanders, his father-in-law, in view of this invasion. Actually, Tostig pirated the Isle of Wight and the southern shores while William's transports were outfitting. Saxon accounts disclose his machinations with Scotland, the Orkneys, Norway, and with the Danes of Ireland. Pretending to the throne as eldest son of Godwine, and promising half the kingdom to Harold Hardráda, King of Norway, he made hostile descent on the Yorkshire coast; but at the memorable battle of Stanford-bridge, in the destruction of his allies and in his own death, suffered the penalty due to overweening rashness.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

G. Gemmet. O. Vital.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. S. Dunelm.

A.S.Chron. O. Vital.

Roman de Rou, 10983 sq.

Meantime William's preparations had been made. The Duke, equipped for the chase, had learned at a breath that Eadward's reign had ended, Harold's begun. The palace of Westminster being replete with Normans, intelligence had lately become swift and minute. Word came secretly; but he, whose ambition and imagination had forestalled the crisis, could not confront the reality. His very nerves betrayed what policy and pride should have kept hidden—the emotion of his spirit, the value he had set upon the occasion, and his estimate of the risk now intervening. Struggling with his mantle-clasps, abruptly he hurried across Seine and entered the tower. Still speechless, he cast himself on a bench, his face wrapped in his sleeve, his head bent on some buttress.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1066.

Longwhile he abided in extreme perplexity; the solemn crisis of his life now present; the nobles, less conscious, standing in courtly deference. But the news had already sped among the citizens. The long-cherished hopes of the Norman race had become vocal. William de Breteuil, son of Osbern the Seneschal, a kinsman, in sort a confidant, presumed to call his lord to action; and at length the duke sent envoys reminding Harold of his oath, and demanding satisfaction. At the same time, however (as if knowing the futility of such engagements), he propounded the alternative to his familiars. A prince's court or household, being the chief officers of state, stood in place of Privy Council at this date. And the magnates present hearkening with enthusiasm, referred ultimate answer to the general Parliament. Accordingly, when that body had assembled, William declared the matter and his will; and, pursuant to form, left his barons to deliberate. Thereupon the objections of many interests freely expressed themselves. They were poor, some said, oppressed by previous imposts. Others advanced that no duke could bid knight or burgess to cross sea. Again, Harold was very rich, could raise vast armies in England, and subsidise foreign troops. His were the largest fleets, the most expert sailors. In a whole year the Normans could not bring together rowers and transports sufficient; and an 'adventure beyond the ability of a Roman Emperor could but result in the destruction of their own beautiful Normandy.' These sentiments the Parliament required the Seneschal to press upon the Duke. But that officer, as their speaker, far exceeding his rôle, announced as an unanimous vote, that the faithful vassals would leap into the ocean or cast themselves into fire were it for their lord's advancement. They

G. Pictav. H. Hunt.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1066.

would cross the sea with him: nay, each of them would double his service due. He who was bound to bring twenty knights would now bring forty; he who should serve with thirty would lead out sixty. For his own part, he should furnish sixty ships thoroughly manned and armed. Murmurs arising at this pernicious falsehood, William again withdrew; and by artifice acquired assent. Sending for the barons one by one, he pledged himself that whatsoever beyond their respective services they devoted in his behalf, he would in some way repay; and assuredly make no precedent of the act. Thus, cajoled or in dread, each in turn gave in to be registered the number of men and vessels he could provide. And a list of not less than 696 ships (by one account reaching 723, by another 907,) attests the spirit and the marine resources of the duchy. Beyond these, from Bretagne, Mayne, Anjou, Ponthieu, Boulogne, princes, knights and military in great numbers, induced by promises and hopes, answered the call to arms; for in that day of violence and mental inanity the thirst for adventure and the greed for spoil found an echo in every uncloistered breast. The King of France indeed, and the Count of Flanders, stood aloof. The one, possibly fearing the aggrandisement of his chief vassal; the other, indignant that no territory in England had been allotted to him. Neither did Emperor Henry, nor Svend, king of Denmark, aid. But in Pope Alexander II. the cause acknowledged its chief ally. Since the power of the Roman Church had grown so great by the suffrage of men's religious instincts, it had learned to subordinate doctrinal teaching to political ambition. The venal character of its proceedings had expanded, and the pontificial court, fraught with lay passions, had already become the scene of

Roman de Rou, 11564. MS. in Brit. Mus. cited by Lyttelton, H. II. 6, 1. App. Rep. Rec. Comm. Chron. N.

See Hardy, Cat. B. H. II. Nos. 1 to 11.

See P. Daniel, vol. iii. p. 93.

G. Pictav. W. Malm.

princes' as well as of prelates' intrigues—the very stage on which all the secular affairs of Christendom were rehearsed. No stone seemed too small to help build up papal authority; no ingredient too vile to cement men's faith and conscience to the service of the hierarchy. The favour of holy church might be purchased, though its rancour could hardly be appeased. In this particular, that Godwine had banished Archbishop Robert, rendered Harold obnoxious; while the favourable acceptance of William's conduct might be traced to the cherished memory at Rome of the pliant Lanfranc. With these preliminaries, and under view of an encreased thraldom of the Anglo-Saxon church, a bull of excommunication affected to silence Harold's and England's rights, while a consecrated banner, embroidered with the cross and the form of an armed warrior, together with a ring enclosing a hair of S. Peter, witnessed to William that the vicar of Christ and the servant of the God of battles encouraged and sanctioned him.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1066.

Lapp. A.S. ii. 288.

King Eadward had deceased on the 5th of January. By August more than 50,000 troops had enlisted against England—probably 50,000 horse and 10,000 foot. Harold was on the march northward to repel Tostig, and the shores of Kent and Sussex lay unguarded. Neither the cries of hunger, nor the whisperings of cowardice in his camp, could now daunt him whose standard had been blessed; and, carrying the shrine of S. Valery in procession, William at once subdued all murmurs in the host, and, as was believed, propitiated the winds of heaven. After a delay of some weeks at the mouth of the Dive and again at Valery-sur-Somme, at dawn of September 27, 1066, a lamp hoisted at the mainmast of the 'Mora' showed that the Duke weighed anchor. From ship to ship trumpets told that the

A.D. 1066. G. Pictav. p. 197–9; see Maseres' note.

Sept. 27.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1066. G. Pictav. G. Gemmet. vii. 34.

long wished for day had come, when Normandy should stoop on England. And the rising sun disclosed the armament, 3,000 bottoms in all, with swelling sails and straining oars, steering across the channel. 'Mora,' the duchess' gift, leading the van, conspicuous by a gilt vane, and crimson sail—the consecrated banner on board—perhaps unfurled that tide. At her prow might be seen the figure of a boy bright in gold or in brass, whose attitude, differently described, had clear significance. With bended bow prepared to speed the first arrow on the coveted land; or, pointing thereto with outstretched finger, seeming through an ivory horn to bid on havoc. As if emulalating William's ardour, all that day and night 'Mora' distanced the burdened transports; and on the second dawn nothing but sea and sky appeared around her. Anchor cast and plentiful food and spiced wine served; in the interval four vessels bore in sight, and presently, like a thick forest decked with snow, masts and sails rose visible on the horizon. With clamorous shouts again they weighed, and, without other stay, moored off Pevensey and Hastings.

Roman de Rou, 11592 sq. and Taylor's MS. (Gavelkind), Lapp. A.S. II. 290.

Eleven hundred and twenty-one years had passed since Cæsar had led his trained legions over these narrow waters. About 621 years ago Hengest and the northmen began their vikings on our shore. Civilization, Christianity, followed the first; corporal prowess and a manly sense of freedom the second. What might it be that this mixed race of Danes and Franks, Frisians and Bretons, were bringing to the common stock? Animated by like passions, means and end alike, it is not probable that William of Normandy had higher aspirations for this island than the philosophic Julius or the savage Hengest. All immigrations have been

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1066.

regarded as disgraceful to the natives. In such, national sensibilities are pained, personal interests are overwhelmed. But in this invasion, as in the other, England has been so advantaged that she may be proud. We are Norman as well as Saxon, Roman, and Briton. The perseverant genius and conquering blood of Europe belong to us. People are not subjugated but when in decay, enervated, vicious; and the forces that triumph over such are apt to be in the opposite stage of healthy progress; at least they bring back those masculine elements of national character without which no realm can stand. A thrice-conquered land, indeed; but a country whose sons are so blended of the excellent and energetic of many ages, of many races, that, without boast, they claim to be the heirs of all the noblest families of man.

As a curious parallel to Cæsar's stumble on the African shore, William, in landing, is said to have fallen. And he made a like advantage of the accident. "By God's splendour, I have seized England with my two hands," he cried, while a soldier, plucking some thatch from a hovel, tendered it symbolically, the part for the whole, saying, "Sire, receive the seizin; the country is yours." The idea of conquest becomes manifest.

Roman de Rou, vv. 11711 sq.

Not less than 60,000 well-appointed troops now disembarked. The fleet, unrigged, was drawn up on the beach, and the Duke announced that he would not entrench himself, but rather await destiny in open field. Meanwhile he so devastated the neighbourhood, that for twenty years afterwards it lay unproductive.

Ellis. Introd. Domesd. i. pp. 314, sq.

Harold, at York, was celebrating his victory over Tostig and the Norwegian king. But, instantly on intelligence, by forced marches, led his army south-

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1066.

ward. In the late engagements many of his bravest had been killed, yet it behoved him not to leave Northumbria unguarded. The main body of his troops was mercenary; and, having summoned a general levy, himself halted at London. Envoys passed. William demanding the entire realm, or offering Harold rule over all parts north of the Humber; proposing to decide the quarrel by single combat or by reference to the Pope. Harold, on the other part, justifying his attitude, insisted that William should abandon his claims and quit the country. England, in commotion, hurried amain towards the insulting foe. Svend, King of Denmark, it is said, sent auxiliaries; 700 sail passed through the straits, if it might be, to cut off the invader. But not one third part of England's force had gathered together when Harold joined his army at the estuary of Appledore. The Danes—if any there were—refused to fight against the chiefs of a kindred race. And the Norman transports lay beyond reach of Harold's coasting fleet.

Flo. Wig.

W. Malm.
O. Vital.
R. de Rou.
G. Pictav.

A.S.Chron.
Flo. Wig.

CHAPTER II.

CONTRARY to his vaunt, William fortified both at the port of Hastings and at Senlac. He learned the strategic character of the place also; and at Senlac, nine miles from Hastings, awaited events. Now, in estimating William's forces, regard must be had to the military obligations of feudal law; whereby, for every knight's fee, or portion of land necessary to support a knight, the tenant bound himself to bring a knight accompanied by esquire, coutelassier, and two bowmen. Such troops, therefore, stood as two horsemen to three footmen: while burgesses and mercenaries—the latter native or alien—formed the great mass of infantry. But again, adventurers of knightly order, from independent districts, had joined this expedition, and the cavalry at William's service was in excess of the usual proportions accordingly. On England's part, however, accident effected the reverse. Here feudalism, so far as tenure of land by arms at least, had not made way. Prescriptively the thegns, as all others, came at the king's call; but the amount of military contribution was undetermined. To the Northumbrian war, Harold had, according to use, summoned those nearest the scene of action. Two desperately fought battles had thinned his ranks of these; and of the mercenaries which he marched southwards very many fell away. Again, the war against Tostig being at end, a renewal of

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1066. A.S.Chron.

Ellis. Introd. Dom. ii. 185.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1066.

summons became necessary in these parts. And, although the ban was called instantly, in the limited interval none but the southern thegns could rendezvous at Hastings. Dates will explain this. The battle of Stanford-bridge happened on September the 25th, William landed on the 29th, and the battle of Hastings, so called, was fought on October 14. Thus but nineteen days elapsed between the victory in York and the defeat in Sussex: only fifteen days from the invasion to the conquest. Farther, within the latter period, intelligence had to reach York; every arrangement to avenge the inroad had to be made. It is stated that several earls and other great men, envious of Harold, stood aloof; and, if we understand the Saxon character aright, we shall believe that, even at this crisis, many who would have bled for country willingly were slow to arm. What, then, might be the number and quality of Harold's armament? It is said that his power in Northumbria—the greatest ever known in England—had reached 60,000. It is said, too, that not less than one half of these mustered on the Downs. No thoughtful calculation can bring up the figures to this sum. Few, except horsemen, could have hurried from York to Hastings in a fortnight, the rate being twenty miles each day. And, in truth, we must reckon on new levies and volunteers, mainly from London and the home counties, if we would raise a force at all competent to take the field. In effect this seems to have been the case. Harold had many horsemen on the banks of Derwent—none at Senlac. The Normans preponderated in cavalry—nobles and their retainers: while archers, axemen and pikemen, yeomen, mercenaries, formed the basis of the Saxon host; many among them carrying but slings, maces, forks, clubs—the ready weapons of the

Flo. Wig. MS. Cott. Jul. D. vi. c. 20. (Waltham.)

W. Malm. H. Hunt. Ingulph.

farm and of the weald. Another—a moral contrast—may be noticed. On the eve of battle the English ate and drank to excess, and with choral shouts betrayed their carelessness; while prayers, confessions, and holy rites, prepared the Normans. A.D. 1066. An. Winton. fo. 19*b*. G. Pictav. W. Malm. *ut sup.*

Expecting a night attack, the Normans stood on guard. At dawn they armed. Here, too, an incident illustrates that uncultivated religious sensibility which characterised the latter race, and had become so notably wanting in the former. William, hurriedly harnessing, had set his hauberk back to front; the bystanders, being terrified at the omen, he, on shifting his mailed shirt, said cheerfully, "so shall my dukedom be turned into a kingdom." Yet William hung about his neck those very relics upon which Harold had sworn. He believed in no portents, but held the efficacy of dead-men's bones.

The Norman army stood in three divisions. The first comprising the people of Boulogne, Picardy and mercenaries, under Roger de Belèsme (Montgomery) and William de Bréteuil (Fitzosbern). The second of Poitevins, Bretons, Maincels, under Alan Fergant (Count of Penthièvre) and Amaury Viscount of Thouars. The reserve, under William personally, having the sacred banner borne by Thorstein, son of Rollo the White. Other names, familiar in Anglo-Norman history, appear in the list of leaders, and as such become notable for us. William Count of Evreux, Robert Count of Mortagne, Robert de Bellomont, Walter Giffard, Hugh de Grantmesnil, William de Warrenne. G. Pictav. Rom. de Rou. W. Malm. P. Damiel, Hist. Fr. iii. 94.

The English, formed in wedge, and posted on rising ground, had secured themselves with ditches and wattles, and stood protected by huge shields; the men of Kent in the van. Under the royal standard—an G. Pictav. ib.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1066.

armed man worked in pure gold, and jewelled—guarded by the Londoners, King Harold II. awaited attack.

W. Malm.

Since the fact has been recorded that this day was the anniversary of Harold's birth, it is possible that among thoughts then present forbodings may have come on him. It is said that, seeing so vast and well-ordered an array in front, and in contemplation of his own resources, he for an instant quailed. So, noblest spirits, hardiest men, have had misgivings; albeit, sense of duty, and exercise of innate courage, bore them through as heroes. It is probable, moreover, that Harold, who was out of favour with the church, hastened the attack, lest William, in whom the clergy had more hopes, should profit by intrigue.

Flo. Wig. Roman de Rou, vv. 13149 sq. H. Hunt.

As yet not one-third of the Saxons present had formed when the onslaught began. One Taillifer, knight and minstrel, chanting of paladins, speared an English ensign, and with his sword cut down some others, himself instantly perishing in the crowd. War cries arose — "Dex aie!" "Nôtre Dame!" "Holy Rood!" "God Almighty!" Infantry pressing on were driven back, cavalry falling into a hidden trench became disorganised. Englishmen stood firm within their palisades. They repulsed the second division of the Norman army, and the reserve also; whole companies of which took to flight. In the mêlée the duke himself could not be seen. It may have been now or at an earlier time that Gyrth's spear wounded that precious charger, which the duke had but just received from a king of Spain—probably from Alfonso of Leon and Gallicia, to whom Harold's betrothed Agatha had been given in marriage. In course of the action two other horses fell under William; but at this juncture, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, rescued him

O. Vital. iii. 14. G. Pictav. R. de Rou, 12673. O. Vit. v. 2.

W. Malm. H. Hunt. O. Vit. iii. 14.

from among his foes. Bareheaded, the duke rallied his fugitives, who, in turn, cut off those who had rushed in pursuit of them. And the whole Norman force forthwith surrounded the pale, spearing and slashing. Multitudinous arrows, javelins, stones, hurtled in mid air: the rude fence gave way to the press from within and without, and knights and esquires charged and trampled on the straining throng. Still, as the front was pierced, the rear came up. And still the diminished band stood inexpugnable. For six mortal hours the fight had raged—from the third hour to the ninth. But at this moment the Normans pretended a general panic, and the Saxons, forsaking their entrenchments in disorderly detachments, scoured in pursuit. Quickly their shouts of triumph and vulgar taunts ceased as, with the cry "Dex aie!" the enemy, renewed in courage, turned upon them. The act, on both parts, had been decisive. In course of the fray, William had sought Harold with a view to single combat. But it is probable that Harold, under censure of the church, had been dissuaded from the encounter. Some Saxon thegn, however, on his king's behalf, met William, and, in trying skill, battered in the ducal casque. Harold himself had been wounded in the eye. Yet a desperate body held by the royal banner. There may have been hopes of succour. There certainly was utmost bravery and endurance. Even at the critical moment of sunset, Count Eustace while counselling the duke to retire, as from a hopeless cause, received a blow that seemed to end him. So close together were assailants and assailed; so doubtful to the last the fortune of war.

A.D. 1066.

Flo. Wig.

Cf. G. Gemmet, vii. 35.

Ingulph.

O. Vit. iii. 14.

A little band of twenty noble Normans, with their retinue, worked out the catastrophe, notwithstanding.

H. Hunt. W. Malm. Ingulph.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1066.

And that twilight witnessed the Pope-blessed banner float ing where the dawn had seen the last Saxon standard wave.

The English army dispersed; every living man to a saddened hearth. The Norman pitched his camp on the field. On the morrow the slain were buried. The Abbey of Battle, built on the spot, commemorates the invaders in whose behoof for ages lamps burned and prayers ascended; but neither the graves nor yet the names of those who died in this strenuous defence of their country have been preserved. Among heaps of mutilated dead, the abbot of Hyde, with twelve of his monks cased in mail, and the brothers Gyrth, Leofwine, and King Harold, were hardly recognised—the last only to be known by the affectionate eye of Eadgyth his queen—if indeed, as story tells, she, 'the fair' 'of the swan's neck' searched the bloody field. Some base villein struck that noble corpse and gashed its thigh: him William cashiered on the spot. But in answer to the entreaties of the late king's mother, who offered the body's weight in gold for it, he bade one Malet bury it on the shore—an excommunicate, a traitor. The conquest completed itself in this cruelty, in this insult. At a subsequent day Anglo-Norman writers tempered the incident with anecdotes of generosity. Saxon imagination, too, fondly conceived the recovery of Harold and Gyrth, cherishing the faith that each retired to some cell, or at least rested in hallowed ground. But the facts, as above, befitted the hardness of the times and the severity of William's nature. So, also, Norman chroniclers inveigh against the cowardice of the English, whose very numbers, they say, conduced to their overthrow: against the perjury of their king, which set God and his saints against him. But later historians of that race, aware that no glory could attach to the protracted

(Waltham), MS. Cott. Julius, D. vi.

W. Malm.

G. Pictav. O. Vital.

W. Malm.

MS. Cott. Jul. D. vi (Waltham) Ailred, R. p. 394. Ellis. Introd. Dom. ii. 134. Cf. Harl. MS. 3776, fo. i. Hardy, Cat. B.H.I. No. 1267. G. Pictav. W. Malm.

destruction of a rabble, have done justice to heroism in a subdued people, and restored honour to the last Saxon king. 'They were few in number, and brave in the extreme.' 'He would have governed the country with prudence and with courage.' CHAP. II. A.D. 1066.

Returning to the port of Hastings, William, for five days, impatiently awaited submission. Then, on receiving fresh troops, spread his army through Kent, Hants, Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire; everywhere plundering, burning vills, slaughtering people. Sept. 15–20.

Meanwhile the Earls Eadwine and Morkere, Queen Eadgyth's brothers, rallied and ruined England's hopes. In conjunction with Ealdred, Archbishop of York, certain who had been of the late king's council, the citizens of London and the seamen, these proclaimed or affected to support the Ætheling's succession: but presently, through jealousy, fear, or corruption, they who had fled from the field of Senlac abandoned this cause also; and under dire 'need' the compromised prelates conducted Eadgar to the conqueror's feet. Subsequently Ansgar, chief ealdorman, and the better sort of Londoners also came in. These all, giving hostages, swore obedience. 'It had been wiser had this yielding happened earlier, since God, for our sins, would not better it,' is the pathetic moral of the Saxon chronicler. On his part, in feudal formula, William vowed that he would be a loving lord to them. Nevertheless his people still pillaged and laid waste wheresoever they went. It may be that the duke made no effort to restrain this; willing rather to wear out opposition through the terror it inspired. Certainly, the wild spirit he had evoked, would not be quelled at his bidding. And the fixed idea became manifest now and long afterwards, that joint adventurers had equal rights in the Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1066.

spoil; they had conquered with the Duke of Normandy, but not for him. England, then, lay prostrate, mutilated; without mind to counsel, without arms to protect, without heart to animate; only spasmodic action remained to it. Impregnable Dover, thronged with fugitives, had proferred its keys: Canterbury had succumbed. Only the folk of Romney Marsh rose against some disembarkment of alien recruits. By alternation of severity and liberal promises, William awed or beguiled the city chiefs and the great men of the home counties. Not less through their sense of self-interest than by reason of the Pope's countenance, he obtained adherence of the prelates. Of these latter, Stigand the primate, unrecognised at Rome, had been first to submit; Ealdred Archbishop of York, Wulfstan Bishop of Worcester, and Walter Bishop of Hereford, prominent among the clergy, also bowed to the occasion. At Berkhampstead, Eadgar the Ætheling knelt, sware fealty, gave hostages. London opened its gates; and, with the freeholders of the southern parts, prayed preservation of privileges and uses. The result of his arms thus, however partially, admitted, security in his possession became expedient to William; and the English, accustomed to kingly rule, yet without trustworthy claimant to the throne, were easily persuaded that in him who had so quickly subjugated, they might find one able to protect, them. For peace sake they became anxious to barter pardon. Under a like compromise, Cnut had been faithful. But to obtain consent of his allies and of the violent soldiery, William held out prospects of counties, baronies, knight's fees, rich alliances, wardships, commands, and all other emlouments dependent on a feudal sovereignty.

G. Pictav. I. Wido, 599 sq. ib. 617.

G. Pictav. p. 205.

Flo. Wig.

A.S.Chron. Saxon and Norman thus prepared, and a stronghold

built in London, the solemn crowning took place in the new abbey of Westminster. Let us recollect that within memory of many then living both Harold and Cnut had been enthroned in accordance with the theory of regal fitness and popular assent: that, at this juncture, whosoever would have stood for election must have possessed one or more of these claims—consanguinuity, ableness, public esteem: that Eadgar Ætheling, the all-acknowledged heir, failed at the main test of fitness, scarcely reaching that of general favour: that remoter descendants of Æthelred II. made no audible appeal nor came forth as champions of their country: that, in this supreme hour, neither Eadwine, Morkere, nor any other recorded, in anywise merited popular confidence. We shall then admit that the nation's acceptance of William, however distasteful to Saxon feelings, was neither abnormal nor contrary to custom. Without claim through descent, he, an alien, prevailed through more cogent means: so prevailing, had Cnut and native Harold excellently reigned. And when the popular voice—suborned or terrified, still the voice—had given assent, there remained to constitute William true and lawful king of England only the open undertaking on his part to fulfil his duties as defined by use, and that religious ceremony which should bind and consecrate him to the office. And William encouraged the nation's hopes, for he said he desired the tranquillity of the country rather than its crown.

A.D. 1066. Flo. Wig. G. Pict. Dec. 25.

G. Pictav. 203. O. Vit. iii. 14.

On Christmas Day Normans and Saxons pressed within and without the church. William came, supported on the right by Stigand, on the left by Ealdred, archbishops. The anthem ceased. Geoffry, Bishop of Coutances, from a pulpit, demanded in French whether the king proposed were agreeable to the people. And the

Wido, vv. 803–4. G. Pictav. 205–6. O. V. iii. Cf. Lib. Eliensis ii. 222, and Flo. Wig. ad loc.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1066. G. Neubrig, i. 1.

Wido, vv. 817-59.

conquerors, by shouts and clapping of hands, answered affirmatively. Either Stigand declined, or he was not suffered, to officiate. But, in the Saxon tongue, Ealdred put the same question. A louder cry—for in it the Normans joined—testified a loyal, if not full and free assent. But so discordant was that cry—a cry composite of triumph and of despair—or the last articulate English tone so jarred on foreign ears—that the crowd outside, in paroxysm of fear, of wrath, or through blank misgiving, fired the neighbourhood. Even from within the church, almost every one rushed forth either to protect property or to rob. Few except the priests remained; but they, in trembling haste, performed the indispensable rites. On the Evangils, William took the oath obligatory on a Saxon king, albeit he swore in French. He called God and his saints to record that 'he would protect the church and its ministers; govern the nation with equity; enact just laws, and cause them to be observed; and would repress all rapines and unjust judgments.' Adding specially, it would seem, 'that he would behave mercifully to his subjects,' 'and treat this nation as well as any king whose benificence they best remembered, so they would be faithful to him;' 'that he would govern English and Normans by the same laws.' Being then anointed, and the crown set on his head by the Archbishop of York, henceforth it became the Conqueror's part to protect the realm.

Flo. Wig. S. Dunelm. Hoved. A.S.Chron. Lib. Eliensis, II. 101.

W. Malm.

O. Vit. iv. 1.

At Barking in Essex (for as yet he dared not inhabit London) there came to him Eadwine and Morkere, grandsons of Leofric and Godiva of cherished memory; Copsi, late Tostig's deputy; Thorkell of Lime; Siward-Barn and Ealdred, of royal blood; Eadric, the forester, nephew of Eadice Streona. Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and the borders of Wales found themselves

Flo. Wig.

more or less represented in the submission, and rivalries condoned in presence of absolute power. The expedience of conciliation being perceived, reciprocal intermarriages were arranged forthwith. But if William had indeed purposed to be a good lord to England, his spirit perverted itself under the temptations incident. The freeboter's passion prevailed over the speculative interests of the king. As first-fruits of his triumph, he had sent to Rome Harold's standard and much gold. Pay and largess had exhausted the proceeds of the earlier rapines. As of course, the royal treasury at Winchester, with all royal lands and dues, and all the property of the late king's family, fell to the crown: but, notwithstanding this reasonable provision, the monasteries were called on for peace-offerings: gifts were demanded from towns and from all natives of quality: and even the widow of Eadward was put under tribute. The numerous and wealthy foreigners fostered by the 'Confessor' for the most part joined the new comers in oppressing the natives, and in frustrating all regulations made for the common good; but even these forerunners of doom came under the general law of taxation, and learned to feel the grievous burden of an alien sceptre. '*Qui jus regni bello optinuit.*'

There are feudal customs traceable through the later Anglo-Saxon age, yet England had conserved its autonomy. But a country, to be ruled by feudal law, had need of feudal institutions; and the Conqueror, recognising no other mode of government, would apply the Carlovingian system here—elaborate, entire. The first principle of this, military subordination, occupied his care immediately. For a while the special forms of Saxon self-control in burghs and hundreds might stand;

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1067.

but earldoms became, or were divided into, counties; the building of strongholds in chief towns commenced. In every county the king would have one castle at the least; in every castle a deputy and a garrison. But among so many warriors, William found few statesmen; few capable of the judicial as well of the military office of earl or count; a still fewer number wholly trustworthy. The list of his first earls is short—the commands assigned large; occasionally suggestive of other inducements than confidence. Walter Giffard received the earldom of Buckingham; Robert de Mortagne, the king's half-brother, Cornwall; Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, another half-brother, Kent; Gherbod the Fleming, Chester; Odo of Champagne, William's brother-in-law, Holderness; Ralf de Gauder, a Breton, Norwich; William de Warrenne, Surrey; Hugh de Grantmesnil, the vague government of the West Saxons; Hugh de Montfort, care of Dover Castle. But to Roger de Montgomery, a wise and upright man, was granted the city of Chichester, Arundel Castle, and the remote earldom of Shrewsbury; and to William Fitzosbern—to whom mostly he stood indebted—the earldom of Hereford, with government of Winchester and the Isle of Wight, and of the whole north of England.

O. Vit. iv. 2.

The welfare of Normandy meanwhile being efficiently secured, and England's condition imperatively requiring his presence here, it is perplexing to find William anxious to visit his hereditary domains. A longing for native scenes, a vain desire to display himself, to excite the admiration and envy of neighbours, a purpose to test the conduct of those he had put in authority, or the more criminal intent of enticing the conquered people to rebel, fail to explain this disastrous act. Leaving charge of the realm to William Fitzosbern,

A.D. 1067. Feb. 21.

CHAP. II.

Bishop Odo, and Hugh de Grantmesnil, William took as hostages, for the behaviour of their countrymen, the Ætheling, the earls Eadwine and Morkere, Waltheof, Siward-Barn, Æthelnoth reeve of Kent, Archbishop Stigaud, and Ægelnoth abbot of Glastonbury, with many other chief men. His progress, like a Roman triumph, while gratifying to the victor's pride, embittered the nobler feelings of the vanquished. With the wealth of England he repaid all costs of the invasion of it; exhibiting to the poor inhabitants of the duchy a royal splendour beyond that of the Suzerain's court. French nobles retired from Fécamp well persuaded of the glory of their compeer; and clergy experienced that, through papal benediction, the weak had become strong indeed. But from that date William lost even the outward show of England's fealty, and acquired the attributes of a tyrant.

A.D. 1067. Flo. Wig.

O. Vit. iv. 3.

Emigration—the first proof of an ill-balanced commonwealth, the last shift of despairing patriots—was already driving back the Saxons to the Elbe, to the Rhine, to Flanders. Soon Apulia and Sicily witnessed the undying hatred of races which would not dwell together. And on the distant shores of Marmora, the battle-axes of 'Ingloi,' which should have freed their country, served but to procrastinate the Eastern Empire's fall. As a nation, Saxon England was extinct; its chosen Harold was referred to as a traitor; all its patriots were treated as traitors. Confiscations weakened its magnates, poverty brought its folk to ruin. Society brake up. Women rushed to convents to escape the lawless lusts of an insatiable soldiery, and the free spirit sought the wold.

H. Hunt. O. Vit. iv. 3. Lib. Eli. II. 101.

The plague had begun. Oppression, rife wherever alien dominated, roused resistance here and there. The Norman garrison of Hereford and one Fitz Scrob,

O. Vit. iv. 3.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1067. Aug. 15. O. Vit. iv. 3.

Ib.

Dec. 6.

A.S. Chron. Flo. Wig. Hoved.

a previous settler, ravaged Eadric's lands; and the forester, summoning to his aid the princes of North Wales and of Powis, laid waste the country as far as the bridge over Lugg. Nor were the adventurers themselves content. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, vexed that the convenient port of Dover had been denied him, raising a body of French and Kentish men, attacked the castle. Again, Earl Morkere had placed Osulf in government of Bernicia, but renegade Copsi, having obtained the same from William, the Northumbrians armed, slew Copsi and re-entered Osulf. The various results are notable. Eadric regained favour. The Count of Boulogne judicially forfeited all his honours in this country. Osulf falling under a robber, his earldom, for a money consideration, passed to Gospatric, grandson of Uhtred by Ælgyfu, daughter of King Æthelred. And if wisdom lay in purchasing the forester's forbearance, if justice vindicated itself in punishment of Eustace, surely the sale of power to an hereditary claimant of the throne seems impolitic.

England had sought far for help. France, morbidly unheedful of her vassal's aggrandisement, declined it. Svend, nephew of the great Cnut, sympathised, hesitated. The alliance with Blethyn and Rywallon, brothers of the late King Griffyn (Gruffydh), became futile through intestine war in Wales. But Saxon and Briton in England combined, in angry but desultory way, to defy the alien power.

After half a year's absence, William found all the realm astir. In proclamations he endeavoured to reassure, but by new imposts he distracted the public heart. Exeter refused to take oath of allegiance, nor would open its gates. Saxon and Briton, long time dwelling here harmoniously, would pay only the tribute

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1067-8.

customarily due to the king. Gytha, Harold's mother, lay here; and within its strong walls had gathered neighbouring thegns and townsfolk resolved to defend their liberties. William drew nigh. Craftily he placed his English troops foremost. Certain burghers tendered submission and hostages. But the folk forbade. William drew closer. At the very gates he bade thrust out the eyes of a hostage. Yet Exeter, its towers undermined, its ealdormen treacherous, withstood the siege for eighteen days. For once no slaughter or spoiling followed; but a garrison, under Baldwin de Moles, began to build a castle that should ensure obedience for time to come.

A.S.Chron

Gytha and many ladies fled to Steepholme Island, in the Bristol Channel, and finally embarked for Flanders.

A.D. 1068, March 23.

William proceeded into Cornwall—thence to Winchester; afterwards assisting at the coronation of his wife.

Ellis, ii.54. Lapp. 123.

If we may believe a current anecdote, the presence of Matilda and a female court of Norman dames inspired no gentler feelings on the one part, no hopes on the other. It is related that, previous to her marriage, Matilda had sought, and had been refused, the love of Brihtric, a young Saxon noble then resident at Bruges. Years passed; but revenge accepted its opportunity. While consecrating a chapelet at his manor of Hanley, Brihtric was seized and imprisoned for the rest of life, and his lands (at least in part) fell to the Queen.

O. Vit. 14, 5.

Now the hostages taken to Normandy had returned. Eadwine, angry that William refused to ratify the promise of his daughter in marriage, quickly revolted, and with him Morkere. Then the former alliance of these earls' sister, Harold's queen Eadgyth, with Griffyn, interested the Welsh princes in their cause. The sons of Harold also, as yet sheltered in Ireland, with

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1068.

Maerlsweyn, Gospatric, Archill, the four sons of Karl, and many leading thegns throughout the land, conspired to revenge the insults and intolerable oppressions wrought by the alien. But the spirit awakened to find its fetters forged. Everywhere Norman strongholds towered: Normans held every vantage-ground. Habit had made Normans expert in marauding; and a central object had given the Normans vigour. To the outraged, the disseised, the impoverished Saxons, remained but the sharp alternative of restoring their country's rights or of national death—of wading through blood to freedom, or of perishing forlorn. Moreover, the stream of defection wasted itself in marsh and wold, while Saxon noble and Saxon prelate venally joined the source of patronage.

Without organisation, without distinct plan, isolated risings only prepared the general overthrow, and every submission added to the Conqueror's power to enslave. Domesday Book, the record of England's rateability, attests the desolation accomplished or to ensue. And generations of fixed antipathy preserve to us the memory of wrongs to home and hearth, to the freeborn spirit and to national honour.

CHAPTER III.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1068.

THE feudal organisation of England proceeded. The castles of Dover, Rochester, Tonbridge, Hastings, Sandwich, Arundel, Porchester, Winchester, Exeter, Montagu, Bristol, London, Sarum, Marlborough, Oxford, Hereford, Norwich, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Bamborough, Richmond, York, Pontefract, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Chester, Rhuddlan—each a centre of viceregal power, and a magazine for the booty of its neighbourhood; garrisoned by aliens, or by pressed natives under alien captains—gradually ensured the subjugation of the people. Already William had begun to parcel out the country among his friends. Yet, in its death-throes, Saxon England struggled hard. Almost simultaneously, rebellion broke out beyond Humber, and in the Bristol Channel. But Eadwine and Morkere rising, almost instantly yielded; Harold's three sons, landing in the Avon and plundering thereabout, were driven back to Ireland; the Ætheling, with his mother and sisters, Gospatric, Maerlsweyn, and others, escaped over the border; and the north, its people pre-eminently hostile, lay open to the king's revenge. York, in terror, gave up its keys and noblest hostages; Archill, powerfullest chief in Northumbria, pledging his son, made peace; Ægelwinė, Bishop of Durham, reconciled himself. The folk, nevertheless, fled to forest and moor, and, swearing never to sleep within-doors till the enemy should have

A.D. 1068.

O. Vit. iv. 4, from G. Pictav.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

O. V. *ut supra.*

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1068–9.

been expelled, grew savage. Soon fire, robbery, slaughter, involved victors and victims; and then pestilence and famine brought on a common end. At this crisis many noble Normans, contemning their prospects or tired of absence, returned home. Meaner adventurers, in view of the depressed condition of the land, accepted rewards and their discharge.

A.D. 1069.

William persevered. Norman knights feared no Saxon arms. Presently, however, the force of plebeian hatred made itself felt. Robert de Comines (Comyn), appointed Earl, with 500 (some say 700 or 900) lances, carrying a banner, rode into Durham; and, though forewarned by the Bishop, maltreated townsmen and even clergy. Anon the lighted brand passed from vill to vill between Tees and Derwent, and all night long passionate multitudes hurried towards the walls. At dawn, these, with the citizens, burst upon the soldiery, and in flame and blood avenged themselves. One, at most two, of the aliens survived that havoc. The firebrand sped. At York, Robert Fitz Richard, castellan, and many of his retainers, fell under staves and clubs.

O. Vit. A.S.Chron. Hoved. S. Dunelm.

Now the Ætheling, with Gospatric and Maerlsweyn, enforced from Scotland, drew on York. Revolted Archill and the four sons of Karl began the attack. But William, apprised, came suddenly with great power and dispersed them. Again the patriot band invested the doubly-fortified city, and again fell back, pressed by Fitzosbern. Two sons of Harold landed off Exeter. They also suffered a repulse; and of sixty-four vessels which brought, two sufficed to bear away, the long-looked-for succour of Dermod king of Ireland. The Ætheling, in an illtimed foray near Lincoln, reduced his followers to two men.

O. V. iv. 5.

June 24.

A.S.Chron.

A more formidable, more hopeful, armament had been

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1069.

cruising the narrow seas. A Danish fleet of 240 ships under Harold and Cnut, sons of King Svend, Aisborn his brother, Jarl Thorkell and two bishops, had, apparently in concert with the late descent on Exeter, attempted Dover and Sandwich, and Ipswich and Norwich. Now entering Humber, these joined forces with Gospatric, Maerlsweyn, Waltheof, and Archill. Saxons in the van, Danes in rear, investing York, slew the entire garrison except Malet and his family, and a few reserved to ransom; demolished the castles, burnt the Minster with great part of the city, and retreated.

Flo. Wig. O. Vit. iv. 5.

On the broad estuary the allies moored, and thence plundered either shore. Strong bands marched athwart York and Lincoln. In Stafford, Salop, and Cheshire, Welsh and English, gathering under Eadwine, burnt Shrewsbury. The people of Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall attempted the castle of Montagu. By times, cavalry, threading the fens and wolds, had cut off stragglers: vigilant castellans had disputed or avenged attacks; but the attitude of England and the surroundings of the Norman seemed to indicate a change of fortune. And William, conscious of the gravity of the crisis, having sent home his Queen, left all pleasures of the chase to confront an enemy more than ever virulent.

He had been hunting in the Forest of Dene, in Gloucester. Now, hurrying through Stafford and Nottingham, his terrible force and cruelties scaring the inhabitants and dispersing every adversary, he reached Pontefract. And here, detained for three weeks by the swollen Are, he matured his plan of campaign, and elaborated those schemes which, far more than the military conquest, far more than the social confiscations, irritated England's heart and pride, and made its rancour lasting. Descendant of pirates, himself a pirate, he rightly

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1069.

estimated the Viking spirit of the Danish allies; and by presents and promises to Aisborn, by conniving at plunderings within certain limits, bargained with the traitor pirate. In fact, King William reinaugurated that timorous and base expedient of Danegelt which had once been the opprobium of Saxon England, and the repudiation of which, rather than his monkish qualities, had made King Eadward popular. But beyond this, William swore, 'By God's splendour,' he would pierce all Northumbria with one spear: resolved to quell revolt by general slaughter—to quench the fire in the victims' blood. Conquest is but a prolonged violence: yet William's purpose, tenaciously adhered to, betrays a passion rash and thoughtful, a vindictiveness unknown to the wildest adventurer and to the most subtle despot, an unappeasable wrath, that reddens all his acts, and casts a lurid light of insincerity upon every proclamation of his reign.

I account for the quick conquest of this country by the disintegration and degeneracy of the people at large, and by various accidents: for our ready acceptance of William as king, by the fact that, the throne being vacant, this nation exercised in his behalf a customary right of election unguardedly. To the free Saxon it mattered not who held the sceptre, so that the office symbolised was fulfilled, and precedents for renouncing a malign prince subsisted. But when William proved disloyal to his oath, it had become impossible to renege him by reason of his alien armies. Consciousness of this explains the truculence on one part, the alternations of despondency and daring on the other.

O. Vit. iv. 5.

A ford being discovered, the king now passed the River Are, and, through forest and moor, often by a

CHAP. III.

path so narrow that two soldiers could not go abreast, reached York. The Danes had retired. Detaching some to refortify the city, others to guard Humber, William marched still northwards; his camp spreading a hundred miles over an almost inaccessible country. Insurgents fell before him: he levelled the vills and all shelterings, and laid waste the lands. 'Yielding to his worst impulses, setting no bounds to his fury, he burnt in heaps together the corn, cattle, and implements of husbandry'—thereby causing a nine years' famine, which consumed a hundred thousand people at the least. 'I have been free to extol him according to his merits,' ends the Anglo-Norman chronicler, 'but I dare not commend him for this act, or screen him by lying flatteries.' Half a century later, tracts sixty miles in extent lay desolate, and from the high road between York and Durham no eye could see an inhabited village. The living remnant, sharing the lot of wolves, lurked under ruined walls, in caves, in bosky places; and when the wide domains of Eadwine and Morkere had been divided among royal parasites, they were accounted worthless.

A.D. 1069–70.

O. Vit. iv. 5. Ingulph, p. 76.

S. Dunelm. W. Malm.

Yet William wore his crown at Christmas. The season of goodwill towards men had marked an epoch in his calendar, and the impious mockery may not have been felt. Presently he renewed his raid as far as the banks of Tees, where, desperate of resources, Waltheof, heir of heroic Siward, in person, and Gospatric, by envoys, swore fealty. Seven days later, by a road before unattempted by troops, through hoary hills and rugged passes, he wended to Hexham. Horses in numbers fell by the way. Every man, picking his steps, sought his own safety. One night William with but six men-at-arms lay out on the dreary wold. The

A.D. 1069–70.

O. Vit. iv. 5.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1070.

situation is picturesque; the cheerfulness with which he rallied lower spirits is heroic. But we must distinguish between the man's courage and the object of the king.

Having farther strengthened York, he went direct towards Chester. On this route all the magnanimity which had raised him to a throne, and had made William a parallel to the great captain of classic history, may be noted. Men who had marched with him from the Tees — especially Bretons, Mancels, Angevins — mutinied. 'The guardianship of castles in a foreign land,' they said, 'was light in comparison with the perilous ventures on which he led them. It had been no part of their engagement, nor stood it within their duty to follow recklessly.' With vehemence they required discharge. But William did not parley or persuade. Calling to the faithful who would share his glory, he let the rest know that he sought no service from a fainthearted crew, 'for there lay no road to honour but through toil.' By causeway and footpath, through rapid streams and quagmires, harassed by sleet and heavy rains, he still led on — often, himself on foot, actively aiding; sharing labour, risks, privations; and when horses foundered, sharing the repulsive meat.

The advent of one so resolute, of an army so enduring, assured submission throughout Mercia, and to the frontier of Wales. At Stafford, Chester, Shrewsbury, his strong garrisons munitioned, forbade dispute; and, with the pacification of those parts, their subjection to feudal use began. Gherbod, the Fleming, having abandoned it, William now gave the earldom of Chester to Hugh, son of Goz (Lupus), 'to be held by him as freely by the sword as the king held England by his crown' — in effect, so that all feuds therein should be held im-

mediately from the earl. Apparently the reason for this special form of grant lay in the geographical position of the county; for thus the earl had inducement and authority to extend his sphere in like manner as the Earl of Hereford had been instructed to act upon his frontier. In fact, such inducement and authority formed the prescriptive tenure of Markgraves, Marquesses, counts of the Marches. And Robert, (son of Humphry de Tilleuil), lord of Hastings, who had served King Eadward, now being Earl Hugh's lieutenant, instantly built a castle at Rhuddlan, in Flint; and was 'invested' with North Wales—as yet untrodden by Norman foot—under annual payment of forty pounds in silver. Arrived at Sarum, the king recompensed his soldiery and dismissed them; only detaining the mutinous for forty days farther, as it were to mark his contempt. A.D. 1070. O. Vit. iv. 5.

It had been a habit with the wealthy to lodge their treasure in neighbouring monasteries: and, especially at this time, places inviolable without the penalties of sacrilege, suggested security. William dared the censure; and, deeming the whole nation traitors, ransacked the churches, distrained all deposits; and waxing therein, carried off chalices, altar and sepulchral ornaments. Bishop Ægelwine denounced the sin, excommunicated the abettors, and then fled from Durham. Stigand, the excluded Primate, and Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, made their way to Scotland. Eadgar with his mother and sisters, Siward-Barn, Maerlsweyn, and many others, on retreating from York, also went thitherward. The occasion failed not in result. A.D. 1070. R. Hoved. Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron.

King Malcolm, pretending an interest in the Æthelings, levied a countless horde of Scots, and, passing through Cumberland, ravaged Teesdale far and wide. It does not appear that any Normans came against him,

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1070.

or that he at all sought out the aliens. On the contrary, a wild instinct to harry a land almost desert, to trample on a folk already fallen, drew him like a vulture to the field of slaughter. Carrion, not a noble quarry, glutted him. I feel it useless to recount the incidents of such savage raids. The Magyars, the Huns, the Danes themselves, in their precipitant hungry descents on fertile and industrious countries, hardly surpassed the wanton injuries here effected on a kindred; neighbour people. Gospatric retaliating in Cumberland, Malcolm's fury rose to height. He bade spare no one of the English race, but slay or drag all into perpetual slavery. He was obeyed—if not exactly, yet in effect. The aged were slaughtered, and the infants; the young and strong were driven away. Scotland became rich in English bondsmen, and for generations, not a farm, scarcely a cot, but owned a Northumbrian serf.

Hoved.

When the Roman Empire had derogated, a yearning to witness human nature under its various forms of agony characterised the populace and the magnates. Here we read of a barbarian tribe, 'more savage than wild beasts,' taking pleasure in cruelty as though 'a spectacle of games.' Their chief, delighted, saw Wearmouth Church in flames—saw other churches, many cramful of sanctuary people, burning—and rode to upper grounds that he might cheer on the havoc he had bidden. 'Torn from their mothers' breasts, innocent little ones destined to Christ's love, shrieking out their spirits as it were between heaven and earth, tossed on the soldiers' spears.' Other abominable murderings there were. And if there be, indeed, exaggeration in monkish chronicle; if pedantry have its formulæ to describe, or a too credulous mind have fancy to colour,

CHAP. III.

such scenes, there is yet a horrible reality under the formula, a bloodstain that makes imagination pale.

A.D. 1070.

Thus defiled, however, Malcolm Canmore offered marriage to the Ætheling's sister. And, though Margaret declined, persuasion and necessity prevailed; 'they had come into his power.' The true heiress to the Saxon throne, the eventual progenitrix of England's royal line, became the wife of the Scots' king—happily, his humaniser too.

S. Dunelm. col. 201. A.S.Chron. sub anno 1067. Ailred, R. p. 130.

Waltheof now swore fealty, and received, with the hand of Judith (William's niece), confirmation of the earldoms of Northampton and of Huntingdon; soon, on deposition of Gospatric, earldom of Northumberland also. But Eadwine and Morkere, in a quasi-honourable durance, followed the Court. About this time the king conferred honours and lands on many of his followers—Richmond on Alan Fergant, Pontefract on Gilbert de Lacey, Holderness on Eudes of Champagne, Norwich on Ralf de Guader, Leicester on Hugh de Grantmesnil, Tetbury on Walkelin de Ferrers.

Ingulph. O. Vit. iv. 7.

O. Vit. iv. 7.

And now, for awhile, we turn to the state and ecclesiastical arrangements which had become indispensable. The crown had fallen to the conqueror—the land had been forfeited to the king. From the Saxon to the Norman form of government the transition was abrupt. For in social bearings, in every grade of life, in law and custom, in the tenure of property, as in the relation of king and subject, noble and people, the two races stood opposed.

In a short time William parcelled almost the whole land of England into knights' fees, each of about twenty pounds in annual value; and, distributing the same by tens or fifties or hundreds among his followers, secured loyalty to his throne. Excepting a favoured or accidental

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1070.

few, the English freeholders thus became vassals, if not villeins. Soon a man had to till for a stranger the field that had been his own; and to the lord's court, not to a jury of his peers, must thenceforth look for redress. From a freeman he became a serf: the boarder and household servant fell into sheer slavery. Nor did the thegn suffer otherwise. No longer a noble, his domain having passed to some alien baron, at best he descended to the rank of mesne tenant; and, till the long-distant day for lawful taxing of him had arrived, his place in his country's Witan was denied. In a word, the entire Saxon population descended in wealth and in position, while only so much of Saxon usage remained as might keep the realm from anarchy. I shall presently give a view of Saxon institutions, contrasting them with those now introduced; and shall only point here to the conclusion, that whereas the feudal system had originated in the necessities of continental nations newly incorporated with a decayed empire, and had trained itself according to the ideas of Romanised Gauls and Germans, it met no wants in the Anglo-Saxon character, suited no condition of society here; neither could it be hopefully grafted on a homogeneous commonwealth already civilised, whose insulation had fostered a natural and more luxuriant growth. In France, feudal customs germinated almost spontaneously. But, being exotic in England, artificial means alone preserved them to us. There they had grown up from the bud, but they were transplanted in full blossom hither. Whatever feudal practices are exhibited in the Anglo-Saxon economy are rare: out of their proper element.

Cf. Wilkins Ll. G. Conq. 63. Dial. de Scacc, xci.

England became a feudal territory. Every baron held his land directly from the king—did homage for it, swore fealty because of it. He obliged himself

CHAP. III.

therefore, to serve in the king's quarrel forty days at a time, and to give the king his counsel when required: for every knight's fee held by him, to find a knight duly accompanied, armed. And every knight, holding a knight's fee of the baron, bound himself to the baron in like terms. So, also, every mesne tenant put himself under military service to his lord, and counselled him at bidding. Yea, for half a knight's fee, half a knight's service. Every man held his land of some superior—the king being suzerain, lord-in-chief. Other tenures, accounted less noble, obtained:—tenure by sargentry, *i.e.* the means for war or for the chase: by soc, *i.e.* by the plough-service, when other dues, in rent or in kind, witnessed to subordination, to the loss of ownership and of freedom. Now, with the growth of feudalism throughout the empire, the Church of Rome had increased in splendour and in power. Copying lay precedent, and—inasmuch as the spiritual is above the earthly—exceeding it, the Pope claimed to be suzerain paramount in Christendom. His cardinals being his counts, the hierarchy stood as his barons, and all orders of clerks in mesne relation thereto. But Saxon England, without experience of the secular plan, had acknowledged no lordship in the ministers of religion. Here the Church, holding all Catholic faith, looked on the Supreme Pontiff but as successor of St. Peter, vicar of Christ, and followed the apostolic teaching as a divine ordinance merely. Wherefore, to bring the English clergy under parallel lines with the laity, William procured a synod at Winchester; two legates from the Holy See, with full powers, presiding—the Bishop of Sion and certain Norman prelates assisting the native clergy. The reform, carefully secured by preponderance of foreign voices, commenced by depriving

A.D. 1070. Selden in Eadmar, 171.

A.D. 1070. Winchester. A.S.Chron.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1070.

the primate Stigand, Ægelmaer his brother, Bishop of Helmham (East Anglia), the Bishops of Durham and Selsey, and several abbots; and by putting Norman and other alien ecclesiastics in their room. Subsequently, in synod or in *curia* at London, all bishops and abbots heretofore holding in free alms—*i.e.* as under God alone—transferred themselves to the suzerainty of the Crown: sees and abbeys became baronies forthwith; and, by a simple edict, William centred all power in England in himself and successors. But although he had conquered under the sacred banner, and under apostolic benediction had bound the national church to his throne, he would acknowledge no suzerainty in the Supreme Pontiff, nor suffer any authority over the temporalities of this country to be exercised at Rome.

P. & C. Eng. p. 1. Cf. Selden in Eadmer, p. 6. Ro. Wend.

Hoved. Lanfr. Epp. 10, 11.

The question whether (putting aside interests then present) England lost or gained by this revolution, depends on the previous proposition, that the Anglo-Saxon race, notwithstanding its culture and its inborn sense of freedom, had degenerated; while the rude Norman, thoroughly subordinated to an almost absolute rule, being of a more plastic nature, and capable of assimilating all that should prove worthy, might possibly produce a higher civilisation in the end. But of the advantage to the national church there can be no doubt at all. Religion, as then perceived, had an access of fervour only second to the zeal of new converts. 'You might see churches rise in every village; monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; renovated rites, where all observances had become lifeless.' A spoiled and degraded people wept over the olden time, the good laws of its native kings; but the Church, deprived of its independence, gladdened and quickened many souls.

W. Malm. de gestis Regum iii.

Prelates of more patent piety, orders of stricter obligation, after awhile, took the places of covetous bishops and of lazy abbots. The secular clerks became active, the regulars holy. And, though he had laid the foundation in spleen and selfwill, William crowned the ecclesiastical edifice meritoriously when raising Lanfranc to the primacy. CHAP. III. A.D. 1070–1. Aug. 15.

By this time the Danes, as by promise, had evacuated the realm. In their last raid they had utterly ransacked Peterborough Abbey. From the Rood they snatched its crown of gold, from the steeple some indescribable treasure; and a catalogue of eleven shrines, fifteen crosses of silver or of gold, of vestments, books, moneys, attests the value of their booty. But there had gathered in the forests and fens native bands not to be bought off by the Normans. From Wales to the Wash, disinherited thegns and ruined folk, in desultory acts, declared against the alien. Eadwine and Morkere fled the Court. The day had set, however, when these brothers could bind the disaffected in one army. The tide which, taken at the full, might have borne them to fortune, had ebbed. Of all the so-called 'outlaws,' Hereward, a noble Saxon, almost alone claims notice. Great in bodily strength, expert in arms, copious in stratagem and device, he had left the quiet home of his rich Flemish wife to avenge the wrongs wreaked on his country. Rallying thousands from about his patrimony, he now fortified Ely. To him fled Ægelwine, ex-Bishop of Durham, Siward-Barn, and presently Morkere. There, surrounded by deep sluggish rivers, plashy marshes, tidal estuaries, these desperate malcontents defied the tyrant; and William, having sent a fleet to guard the coast, himself led troops to surround the isle. Having constructed a causeway,

Hoved.

A.S.Chron.

A.D. 1071.

Lib. Eliensis II. s. 102.

Ch. Petrob.

Lib. Eli. s. 107.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1071–2.

Cf. Lib. Eli. ss. 104, 5, 6, 7. Gesta Herew. Michel, Chron. A.N. Ingulphi Chron.

two miles in extent; which enabled his cavalry to pierce the hold; and having drawn a sorceress in a wooden tower close to the fort, so that she might cast spells over his enemies, the king awaited a prompt submission. But Hereward's people set fire to the car, and burnt the witch; and, sallying forth simultaneously from two sides, enclosed and drave in Yvo Taillebois and his host, holding them to ransom in three thousand silver marks. Hereward's courage never failed, and, after vicissitudes, he ended in peace, remembered as the 'last of the Saxons.' The fickleness of Morkere again, and finally, ruined him. Persuaded of royal forbearance, he, with Bishop Ægelwine, Siward-Barn, and the rest, succumbed; and William, violating his promise, treated them all as rebels. With eyes thrust out, lopped of hands and feet, the masses groped and lingered through the remnant of miserable life. The brave bishop starved in Marlborough Castle: Siward-Barn and Morkere lay chained in the Norman fortalice of Roger Beaumont, till death released them. But, driven from Ely, Hereward still harassed the Normans in Lincolnshire; nor did he ever trust himself to the perjurer's mercy. Eadwine, after six months' unavailing retaliations, perished under treachery of his own house-carls. The Forester reconciled himself once more. And now, having this Eadric—the representative of Streona—in his train, William marched against Scotland, the nursery of conspiracies, the asylum of his enemies. His fleet coasting the Frith of Forth, his army reached the Tay. King William met no resistance by the way. And 'so at Abernethy Malcolm came and treated, and delivered hostages, and became his liegeman.'

O. Vit. iv. 7. G. Pict.

A.D. 1072.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. Aug. 15.

Not long afterwards Ædgar Ætheling, still purpose-

less, having exhausted the favours of France and of Scotland to no avail, delivered himself up. From his country's foe, he, its prince, deigned to accept, daily, a pound of silver (which, it is said, he soon bartered for a horse). This and the life of ease and recreation which he thenceforth indulged in, justify the rejection of his claim to the crown; while all affectionate memory of him is due rather to the aching heart of a people who mourned over the happier rule of his forefathers. CHAP. III. W. Malm. de Gestis Regum iii.

Within seven years, then, William had ousted the native proprietors of the land, and enrolled the people as his serfs. He had defeated every antagonist and awed all neighbour potentates; he had changed the constitution of the realm, and subjugated the Church to State control. G. Gemmet, *ad fin.*

'God had chosen the Norman to humble the English,' says a clerk of later day, 'and His will had been accomplished.' . . . 'It had become a disgrace to be called an Englishman,' and the aliens domineered accordingly. Even justiciaries and sheriffs became cheats and robbers, since the king himself kept no agreement farther than might be convenient; who, when he had let his lands to farm, would grant the same over to another and another on security of increased rents. H. Hunt. *sub anno* 1087.

Yet it had occupied the world's legions 500 years to gain but a limited footing here; the Britons being, by Cæsar's account, naked, painted. And after another five centuries of progressive organisation, the various Angle, Jute, and Saxon tribes, had scarcely penetrated the isle; while, for ages within the latter period, Danes and Norwegians pirating from sea to sea, gat no abiding sway. Throughout the land masonries and vallations, the sites of Roman camps and stations, attest the caution of the colonist, the tenacity of the indigene.

CHAP. III.

Even that noble spirit which incorporated the vanquished with the victor had failed to bring all Britain within the pale. On plain and down, from Northumbria to Cornwall, countless barrows hold the relics of viking-men who perished under native valour—of Britons and Saxons slain vindicating their hearths. Not a trench, not a grave, betokens the one decisive battle which prostrated Briton, Saxon, Dane, under the mongrel freebooter! Only a ruined abbey points memory to the spot where praise and prayer acknowledged that day's issue, and a few looped and ragged towers affect to mark the field of conquest.

Chron. Monast. S. Martini de Bello. pp. 7 sq. id. pp. 23, 24.

Perhaps the peculiar form of freedom as here enjoyed, in contrast with the subordination incident to feudalism, may have operated. But a more certain cause can be shewn. The luxury of Anglo-Saxon England; the frivolity of its thegns; the inertness of its people; some general lack of religious enthusiasm; some void in the higher region of patriotism. In fact, the effeminate beauty of those hostages brought to Fécamp, the elegance of plate and trinketry, of attire, of needlework, the artificial alliterative tone of poetry, the delicacy of the written language at that era, indicate weakness and sensuous habits; mark a nation bred out, easy in surroundings, indifferent to other than present things; whose sense of duty had passed away, whose power for consentaneous action had been lost: a nation all unready to oppose with manly vigour and direct purpose either the simple appetites of a rude horde or the trained onslaught of military despotism. And, truly, from all time, under parallel conditions, empires had fallen. Such had been the course of Egypt, of Greece, of China, of India, of Assyria, of Persia, of Rome; and, in after days, mediæval Italy

See Hardy, Cat. B. H. ii. Pref. pp. xvii. sq.

(March, A.D. 1067. G. Pictav.)

witnessed to the law. The raven devours the foundered horse. No commonwealth can thrive on departed glory. As the Danes overran England, so Huns and Magyars sacked Germany and Gaul. As Teuton settled on the Kelt, so Scand wrested Neustria from the Frank. The civilised Roman had patiently indoctrinated the barbarian races in order and in religion: wild freebooters, in full might of human passion, could but overwhelm soft-lived citizens and pursy freemen. The realm of Ecgberht, possibly, had reached its climax in the reign of Eadward: the generation had descended far whose wealth invited the robber, whose disintegration secured him in possession of our crown. Ever the building is slow, the decay gradual, the fall sudden, complete.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1071–2.

W. Malm.

It had been the part of a humane as of a wise prince to heal the sword-wounds and comfort the spirits of a people now his own: patiently to bear with the mortified nation: by justice to create confidence in his sceptre; and, by various conciliations, to unite the hostile races in a common bond of patriotism. William took some pains to learn the English tongue, in order to hear complaints without interpreter; but his little knowledge availed no native. Also he promulgated some equal laws; yet, since he dared not control all aliens, practically his edicts were not administered. Too active-minded to be altogether cruel, with apparent justice in his rule, and with centralising power in his administration, his stern temper and his avarice forbade clemency and honour. He knew to avenge. He knew not to forgive. And in exercise of self-will as of prerogative he became inexorably harsh.

Revolution and settlement effected, the time had come when passivity on the one part and contentment on the other should illustrate the conqueror's reign; but the iron yet rankled in the blood of Englishmen, and the Normans' pride waxed through habitual overbearing and indulgence; whence the latter two-thirds of William's term exhibit him as a grasping and suspicious tyrant; hated alike by both nations, and harassed by enemies from his hearth to his utmost frontier. His

sagacious councillors deceased, their sons estranged themselves from his court; and, though humiliated Saxons made no stir, Anglo-Normans grew treasonable, and even his hereditary domains oscillated in loyalty. He carried English and Normans abroad, and overran Le Mayne; but he left behind a realm distracted, a people unreconciled.

A.D. 1072.

A.D. 1073. A.S.Chron. O. Vit. iv. 13.

A few more or less connected incidents of the epoch will explain the general sense of William's character, and the posture of his surroundings, better than would an abstract of the chronicles. Roger, son of William Fitzosbern, and now Earl of Hereford, had given his daughter Emma in marriage to Ralf de Guader, Earl of Norwich. But the king, as superior lord, having prohibited the alliance, partisans bethought them to avoid feudal penalties by levying arms. After the marriage feast Waltheof found himself engaged in a conspiracy. Now this Waltheof when a minor had not been suffered to succeed his father, that renowned Siward who subdued Macbeth; but subsequently, as I have shown, had been invested with the earldoms of Northampton and of Huntingdon, and still later, when he married Judith, William's niece, had been restored to his hereditary rank in Northumbria. An Anglo-Saxon, therefore, of noblest lineage, of highest consideration, and from personal features dearest to the people. Strangely, it came to be agreed between the earls that one of them being chosen king, the others should be his proximate peers. And herein we detect the Normans' craft and Waltheof's unwariness; for none but the Saxon chief could have been acceptable to the country; and, Waltheof enthroned had been but the creature of Roger and Ralf. On reflection, however, Waltheof, fain to preserve allegiance, received absolution from Lanfranc; and,

A.D. 1074. A.S.Chron.

See Introd.

Ante, p. 43.

Flo. Wig.

CHAP IV.

divulging the plot, threw himself on royal mercy. On Roger, also, but without avail, the primate urged loyalty. Him therefore, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, excommunicated, and finally, with the Abbot of Evesham and the sheriff's posse, prevented advancing beyond Severn; while near Cambridge the Bishops Odo of Bayeux and Geoffry of Coutances, with a power of English and Normans, opposed themselves to Ralf. The Earl of Norwich fled to Denmark. And presently Cnut, son of King Svend, with Jarl Hakon, from 200 ships, landing in his behalf, pirated York. But Hakon, like Aisborn, selling the cause, Norwich city surrendered, the vassals renounced their feofs, and the earldom escheated to the crown. Rebellion thus frustrated, traitors were banished or mutilated, but the Earls of Hereford and of Northumbria awaited doom in prison. Some favours passed to the son of William de Bréteuil, seneschal of Normandy; but at Easter, when the king offered him a rich suit of clothes, Roger scornfully burnt them; and, in article of pride, endured his fetters to the end. For Waltheof, however, a more outrageous punishment remained. He had not levied arms against the king; rather, by revealing the conspiracy, had secured the throne to William. And the Norman court hardly, if not unjustly, condemned him to forfeiture and durance. But his wife—the Conqueror's niece—being suborned, spake of Waltheof's treason, and William would have Waltheof's blood. Outside Winchester, therefore, hurriedly, lest any should rescue, while in very act of prayer, Waltheof's head was cut off and his body cast into a pit thereby.

Lanfranci Epp. 45, 46, 47.

A.D. 1075.

ib. 28.

ib. 37, 38.

May 31, A.D. 1075. Flo. Wig. O. Vital. iv. 15. Ingulph. Ann Winton. *fo.* 21.

Again: previous to his descent on England, William calculating the risks of Normandy, had thought to forestall hostility on his suzerain's part by formally granting

his hereditary dominions to Robert, his eldest son. When, however, William marched against the outlaw de Guader, the armies of France and Bretagne drave him from the siege of Dôl, with loss of nearly a million sterling (of our money); and thenceforth Robert (Curthose), supported by King Philip, ravaged Normandy; contending for investment in all his feudal rights within the Duchy and its dependencies. Normandy and Le Mayne wavered. Mediators spake of Absalom, Ahithophel, Amasa; but the prince claimed his due, vowing to go, like Theban Polynices, to seek another Adrastus rather than serve as a mercenary among mercenaries. Like Absalom, however, gathering the disaffected youth, sons of his father's adherents chiefly, the Clito—so the apparent heir to Normandy is styled—armed against his sire. A war of neighbours and of kinsfolk resulted but in plunders and confiscations; in household treacheries and deadly retaliations; till, at the siege of Gerberoi, in Beauvoises, father and son stood bodily confronted. William's destrier died under him: an esquire, while tendering a remount, perished; and presently the king himself, wounded in the arm, tumbled on the ground. Only his cry of pain or for aid warned Robert from the horrible deed at hand; who, setting his father on his own horse, led him from the field; and, in guerdon, accepted promises of the cession he had fought for. Yet a reconciliation brief and insincere could but foment the quarrel. The son's act sounded like a triumph, and the father's after life negatived faith. Where ungoverned passsions passed as a heritage, no other issue could be. In fact the king would live in his Duchy which he loved; and had liefer rule England, which he hated, through his earls.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1074.

A.D. 1075. O. Vit. iv. 18. Flo. Wig.

O. Vit. iv. 17.

To return. Memory of Waltheof's cruel end

CHAP. IV.

smouldered in the Saxon breast. A breath kindled it to flame. It happened that Walchere, Bishop of
A.D. 1080. Durham, now Earl of Northumbria, had deputed temporal affairs to one Gilbert his relative, and Leobwine,
Flo. Wig. dean of his cathedral, both of whom mercilessly oppressed all orders of the natives. Liulf, kinsman of dead Waltheof, a respected adviser of the bishop, too, having been massacred by these men's means, and a stir arising, the bishop feigned to banish Gilbert, and offered to clear himself according to ecclesiastic law. Yet, fearing to proceed, as customary, in open air, he held a court in Gateshead Church. Around the sanctuary had gathered friends of the murdered thegn, and a multitude careless alike of Saxon form and Norman jurisdiction. And on such ferocious spears, Gilbert and a bodyguard coming forth to awe or parley, fell at the gate. Close on the threshold also, Walchere himself, his head wrapped in the episcopal
S. Dunelm. robe, met death under their swords; and Leobwine, scorched to madness beneath the burning roof, rushed to manifold destruction. The excited populace scurred to surprise the garrison of Durham: Malcolm and the Scots prepared to second a success: but the king's soldiery stood firm: another earl and another bishop by ransoms and slaughters quelled revolt; and a Norman army under the Clito Robert pacified the border.

A.D. 1081. On the Welsh march, incessant inbursts called for
A.S. Chron. repression; and, while in the north Robert de Rhuddlan pierced the mountain, and on the east certain knights, with like authority, pressed back the ancient Briton, William himself, recalled by these turmoils, subdued the princes of South Wales, and took oaths and hostages from the tribes. Once more the native spirit had been

CHAP. IV.

crushed, and again the king's enemies arose out of his own house.

A.D. 1081–2.

Possessed of a kindred ambition, William's uterine brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Earl of Kent, having in government of England amassed enormous private wealth, coveted the apostolic see. Encouraged by the Norman occupation of Southern Italy, and a common saying that an Odo should follow Gregory in S. Peter's chair, it had become (at latest since the date of Lanfranc's advent) a fixed purpose with the soldier-prelate to stand for election to the papacy. There may, moreover, have been some indirect invitation from the pontiff. Howbeit, Odo had already built and decorated a sumptuous palace in Rome, and by means of gifts had ingratiated himself with the senators. Also he had engaged the Earl of Chester (Hugh d'Abrincis), Magnate of England, and numerous knights, to accompany and support him. These all had embarked. Now the project may have been in itself absurd, or, in relation to foreign policies, mischievous; but the act of relinquishing his post and of leading out an armament without royal leave, needed chastisement. William, therefore, promptly sailing from Normandy, intercepted the fleet off Wight; and, when his barons hesitated, himself arrested Odo, 'not as bishop but as earl,' he said; and, confiscating all his lands and chattels, sent him in fetters bound to Rouen. Sacks full of treasure drawn from the river attested the nefarious way of Odo's government, and the means whereby he had hoped to gain and exercise Apostleship. But Gregory's faint and tardy protest, and William's obduracy—perhaps that avarice which ignored chivalry in the bishop when punishing treason in the earl—which, in dispossessing Roger, had forgotten Hereford—exemplify the insin-

O. Vital. vii. 8.

A.D. 1082. Flo. Wig.

W. Malm.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1082.

cerity and heartlessness of priest and of brother. Fitzosbern's services and Odo's claims had, for the king, no value but as means to an end now gained; and Hildebrand, in prospect of England's submission to the papacy, might absolve himself from Christian duty.

With ecclesiastical affairs I shall not much meddle. Suffice it, for the purposes of history, that I state that in this reign three popes, especially Gregory VII., advanced pretensions on England: that William, jealous of absolute power, and aware of the influence exercised by Rome in every Christian State, had, at early date, feudalised the Church lands, and subjected the higher clergy to the crown. He did not now deny the Peter pence due to Holy See, but he peremptorily refused all homage to the pontiff. If indeed he suffered bishoprics to pass canonically, abbacies fell rather within the patronage of his barons. Foreign churches received an access of wealth through English benefices granted to them; and, albeit the independence of the Anglo-Saxon Church had expired, the Anglo-Norman Church stood in a measure free. Reformation of the orders took place from within, mainly under guidance of Lanfranc; and, under the rule of S. Benedict, the offices of religion prospered.

Lanfranci Epp. 10–11. *Edit. Giles.*

W. Malm.

A.S.Chron.

But though monks of after day cherish the memory of him under whose auspices their convents rose; and historians gratefully admit that he averted the spiritual thraldom which vexed other lands, there remains the broad objection that endowment of the monasteries came not from William's treasury, nor issued from his charity in any sense, but from the spoil of the people he had overcome: that his championship of the national Church enhanced his prerogative. Under Providence, certain of his measures operated beneficially;

CHAP. IV.

but we fail to perceive in any department of his rule a purpose to act for the honour of God or for the benefit of those who had chosen him as their king. He first brake his pact; and evermore he refused confidence to the people he had betrayed. Thus, when Cnut the Dane with 1,000 ships, Robert the Frisian with 600, and Olaf of Norway with 60, threatened a descent, William preferred the mercenary arms of Normandy and Le Mayne, of France and Spain, to the pressed force of England—even to the baronial troops. And here, again, the conqueror, not the king, appears. He levied a Danegelt of six shillings on the hide of land; and, practically this was paid by Saxon vassals. By his order, far within shore fields were laid waste: natives were forbidden their distinctive dress and the wearing of beards, lest Saxon should mingle with Dane and Frisian and Norwegian, or leave the brunt of war to be borne by alien hirelings. Thus England—its allies foiled or bought off, its last hope extinguished; poverty-stricken, despairing—bowed to William's sceptre. Rich with others' wealth, the Normans gave rein to pride and fury, and put to death without compunction the natives whom, for their sins, God had subjected to the scourge. High-born virgins mourned their dishonour by filthy ruffians: noble matrons, bereaved of their husbands, lamented in solitude, welcomed death. Ignorant upstarts, mad with unwonted power, did what they would. Once more, however, William's home interests became the avenger of the conquered country; and, in full reach of lawless avidity, the mighty freebooter finished his career.

A.D. 1085.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

O. Vit. iv. 8.

A.D. 1086.

He ordained the compilation called 'Domesday Book, to which I shall presently refer; and all landholders in England submitted and sware fealty to him.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1087. July—August.

O. Vit. vii. 14.

W. Malm. de Gestis Reg. iii.

O. Vit. vii. 15.

Sept. 9.

But a series of defeats and humiliations in Le Mayne and the Nevernois, a second defection of his son Robert, and the French king's taunt on his unjust claim to the Vexin, worked on William's harsh overbearing spirit. Having surprised the city of Mantes, he devoted it to fire and the sword; and, exulting in vengeance, trampled on its ashes. Here, from the desolate hearth, the angel of death struck down the destroyer, whose horse, treading on some hot place, jerked him to the ground. Internally ruptured, carried to Rouen, thence to the church of S. Gervase in the suburb, William lay in pain, at first loudly bewailing his coming end; then, appeasing his conscience as directed by Catholic ritual. He paid down largely to restore the shrines of Mantes, and by testament scattered riches among clerks and poor. He manumitted Morkere, Siward-Barn, and Wulfnoth (King Harold's brother), Roger, son of William Fitzosbern, and lastly, reluctantly, Odo, his mother's son. He divided his territories: to Robert, his first-born, he confirmed all his hereditaments in France; saying, "The grant I made I cannot annul; but I know for certain that the country subject to him will be wretched." To William, his second son, he gave a sealed letter addressed to Lanfranc, touching the succession to the crown of England; and, kissing him, bade him God speed. To Henry, a mere sum of 5,000 lbs. weight in silver. "My son," said he, "content yourself; in your turn you will inherit all my dominions, and far exceed your brothers in wealth and power." Then, after one night of rest, as the bell tolled prime, he departed with these pious words: "I commend my soul to heavenly Mary the holy mother of God, that by her mediation I may be reconciled to her son, my Lord Jesus Christ."

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1087.

Duke Robert, being in France, in arms against Normandy, William *en route* for England, Henry absenting himself, courtiers, bishops, medicine-men, instantly took horse, each to his home, to provide under contingencies. Guards and varlets rushed to the palace and ransacked it: a rabble of the baser sort, entering the open church, took off the very bed, bedding, and coverlid. The naked corpse lay cooling, when some clergy, in procession, entered to sing mass. Neither kinsman, state officer, nor household servant, came to conduct the burial. At his own cost, for love of God and for his country's honour, Herlouin, a knight, embalmed and carried the body to Caen. There a fire brake out; and, during the funeral service, all save clerks sped forth. The coffin had been lowered into the grave: the corpse yet couched on the bier, and Bishop Gilbert bade prayers for the defunct. But one Ascelin, claiming the land whereon the church had been built as forcibly taken from his father, stayed the burial till they should satisfy him with sixty shillings for the tomb and security for payment for the rest. Lastly, the king's remains, too large for the sepulchre, being thrust down roughly, burst; and, amid the stench of corruption and the fumes of incense, the rite concluded. 'A very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those that loved God; severe beyond measure to those who withstood his will. He kept in prison earls, removed bishops and abbots, and spared not his own brother. . . The good order that he established is not to be forgotten. Any man who was himself aught might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold untroubled.'

O. Vit. W. Malm. Flo. Wig.

O. Vit. vii. 16.

W. Malm. iii. *ut supra.*

A.S.Chron.

In person William stood at middle height, and,

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1087.

albeit inordinately fat, possessed dignity of mien. His countenance was high and fierce, his forehead bare, his complexion and feature Scandian, fair: his temper stern, wrathful. A luxurious and a greedy eater, he yet lived healthy and chaste. Riding at full speed he could bend the bow that others on foot in vain attempted. 'He loved the high game as if he were their father,' and he put out the eyes of men who shot hart or hind, and mutilated of claw and tail every dog within the precincts of his hunting-ground. He enlarged Windsor forest, and added to the chase at Ytene in Hampshire 17,000 acres, by enclosing 60 parishes and levelling innumerable vills.

W. Malm. de Gestis Reg. iii.

A.S.Chron.

Flo. Wig.

Ellis. Int. Domsd. pp. 105, 116.

CHAPTER V.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1086.

In the year preceding his decease, William had caused enquiry concerning the entire property of the kingdom: *viz.*, of how much land each of his barons stood seized; of how many knights' fees; of how many carucates; of how many villages: of how many ploughs possessed; of how many beasts; of how much money; and the annual value in each case. The return which we possess in Domesday Book records his revenue at a sum equal to 23,250,500*l.* a year of our money, exclusive of escheats, forfeitures, mulcts, wardships: it tells, incidentally, also, of the ravages committed by the conquerors; of the wastes, the depreciations of property, the destruction of life, the misery of England. The forests had been large, they were now increased: they had been useful—for house bote, and for fire bote, and for plough bote; for the feeding of swine and of cattle—they were now sequestrated to the chase. Enormous tracts had lain untilled; lands desolated by war added to their extent: villages, parishes were erased; populations had perished. In 411 manors in Yorkshire, only 32 villeins and 8 bordarii remained. Plunderings had broken the burghesses, as forfeitures had quashed the thegns. Fire had destroyed the towns, as wanton armies had consumed the produce of the field; and for the building of fortresses to control the burghs, the burghers' houses had found the stones. Thus, of 463

Maseres', note to. O. Vital p. 258. Lapp. A.N. 211.

Cf. Lib. Eli. II. ss. 114, 116, 134.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1068.

tenements in Exeter, 50 were destroyed; of 172 in Dorchester, and of 1,320 in Norwich, one-half had fallen; of 1,150 in Lincoln, 166, beside 100 vacated; in Cambridge, 27; in Chester, of 487, 205; in Derby, of 243, 103; in Stafford, of 131, 38; in York, of 1,800, 800; and in Oxford, while 243 houses paid the geld, 478 stood exempt on plea of ruin. Here and there throughout the survey are confessions of the abandonment of the place: everywhere occurs the emphatic '*wasta*.'

Lapp. A. S. ii. 307, sq. Id. A.N. 180, sq. Kemble, Saxons in E. I. and II.

Postscript.—To make clearer the effects produced by the domination of a wholly feudalised people over a race of freemen, I shall now briefly note the various institutions of either nation.

KING.—The leaders of the Angle, Saxon, Jute immigrations, called 'heretogas,' 'duces' or 'ealdormen,' (*senatores*), very soon after settlement received the name 'cyning,' king; whether from the German root word, signifying wit, mental ableness, or from some other term implying 'son of the nation.' As a rule, not without exception, the issue of the 'heretogas' formed the royal race, the prime aristocracy. The king's authority arose out of his own character and the affection borne to him, until, under influence of the Catholic clergy, the traditions of the Roman empire, and the gradual merging of smaller states into one realm, England, under Ecgbehrt, adopted, though in a modified form, ideas of sovereignty similar to those held by the Germans in the time of Charlemagne. At this point, however, the lines diverge; for, while continental monarchies developed feudalism, natural wants expressed themselves in securing freedom and self-government, in great measure equality also, in this island. The mode of descent and the form of election to kingship I have already shown. The king's wife,

Cf. Beda Eccl. H. ii. 32.

treated (as were all Teuton women) with respect, received the crown as queen, and was entitled to a 'gesuma' (*aurum reginæ*) or queen gold of an extra tenth on every fine or oblation of above ten marks paid to the king. The court formed itself much after the Byzantine pattern; the state offices originating in household services: thus the 'steward,' *seneschallus*; the sewer, 'discthegn,' *discifer*; the chamberlain, 'burthegn,' *cubicularius*, doing duty also as treasurer, 'hordere,' *thesaurarius*; the cupbearer, *pincerna*; the master of the wardrobe, 'hrhaeglthegn;' the marshall, 'stallere,' *comes stabuli*; the chancellor (scribe), *referendarius*. All these, through office, attained personal nobility: no nobility of blood, save in the royal house, existed. For the nation at large was nobly born.

EALDORMAN. But the eldest male in every family had respect; and hence, whosoever might be placed in authority immediately under the king, received the title ealdorman; and such, being solemnly girt with the sword, discharged the rôle both of general and of judge, deputy and agent. At no time did this rank become hereditary; however, the father's office might be conferred upon the son. The revenue of the ealdorman (beside his private estate) consisted of lands appropriated to the function, and of one-third part of the fines of the court in which he presided, and of the royal dues which he collected. And on decease of an ealdorman, the arms which had been entrusted to him reverted to the king; from which use arose the practice of 'heriot.' A law of Cnut fixed the reversion at 4 saddled and 4 unsaddled horses, 4 helmets, 4 coats of mail, 8 spears, 8 shields, 4 swords, and 200 mancuses of gold; and subsequently 'heriot' attached to all

Cf. Selden, Tit. Hon. II. v. ss. 2. *sq.*

CHAP. V.

possessors of land held under the crown, proportionably and convertible for money payment.

THEGN. Thegns occupying hereditary estates, tenants direct of the crown, were accounted noble also: sub-tenants 'laessan' in a lower degree. The smaller thegn possessed 5 hides of land: *i. e.* 200 Norman acres of arable land exclusive of pasture and forest; and, no doubt, some thegns owned far larger hereditaments. The ealdorman held 40 hides. Holding his land of the king or of the state, the thegn bound himself to war in the nation's behalf. And if he did not attend the 'Witena gemote' of his shire or of the realm, he assented to the acts of either by his absence. In his own place he acted as justice of the peace; and his estate and title passed to his eldest son, or next heir competent.

SUB-THEGN, CÉORL. Various classes of sub-thegns existed, but the number in aggregate was but small, while that of the céorls, or freemen, was very large. But the freeman, always lay under protection, *sub commendatione*, of some lord 'hlaford,' temporal or ecclesiastic; and without leave from the ealdorman dared not pass beyond his shire. All freemen, then, were grouped in three classes: 'twy hinde men,' 'six hinde men,' 'twelf hinde men;'—terms derived from the state value of each man, according to which his life was protected by a proportionate fine on him who should slay him: 200*s.*, 600*s.*, or 1200*s.*—A thegn's life cost six times that of a céorl, a king's six times that of a thegn. But these estimates varied in different parts of the country.

LAW. The king, personally, presided in the 'micel gemot,' or great court of the realm, whereto all the higher ecclesiastics, the ealdormen, the thegns, came as

of duty; the inferior freemen as of right: but, though the reeve of London assessed, men of burghs and cities had no obligation and no claim to attend. The king himself went circuit. But in the provincial courts of law and justice the ealdorman sate, the bishop, if in a see, assessing, and decided cases on assent of the shire Witan, and the 'scir-reeve' (sheriff) executed his decrees. So likewise the king had his reeve in the cities, burghs, ports, wicks; and every bishop and every thegn had his reeve who acted as steward or bailiff.

LAND. The land seized from the Britons by the immigrant tribes, had been held by the latter as folcland: they who together had acquired it, occupied it in common; all within the district being interested in the usufruct: or in severalty; wherein general consent parcelled it, for a limited time, among the meritorious. As folcland, then, the land lay subject to all national obligations; to the construction of public works, the support of the soldier, the entertainment of the stranger, the repair of royal vills, the conduct with horse and vehicle of the king and his officers to the very meanest, the provisioning of his household and his table. But from all these incidents, land severed from the folcland by charter or book 'bôcland,' freed itself. Such land reverted no more to folcland, but passed absolutely to the beneficiary as a heritage, alienable. The divisions of land at this time were chiefly the hide of 32½ Saxon or 40 Norman acres (100 Saxon equalling 120 Norman acres); and the yard (rood) a quarter of the acre. And the prosperity of the people may be gathered from the fact that the mere boor 'gebûr,' or husbandman, on being settled, received from his 'hlaford' by way of capital stock, seven acres sown, two oxen, one cow, six sheep. And the cattle of such gebûr, as of all other

CHAP. V.

tenants of that hlaford, grazed on the common pasture with the lord's cattle, their swine with his swine followed the same horn to the wold. And it came to pass that the king, the higher thegns, many céorls and church corporations held land by bôc. And as wealth increased, and private property encroached on public welfare, conversions of folcland into bôcland became large and frequent; till eventually, the Witan verified the king's prerogative in granting bôcland with condition of reversion, 'laenland;' whereby the king strengthened the material power of the crown and demolished the resources of the commonwealth.

JURISPRUDENCE. Each shire lay under jurisdiction of its ealdorman. Divided into hundreds or herreds —a term. that may be understood as comprising 100 hides of arable land, exclusive of pasture, forest and marsh—each Hundred had its own court and officers. Yet within the lands belonging to the Hundred, and exempt from responsibility to the Hundred Court, were lands of the king, of the clergy, of some favoured thegn, each of whom executed a more private jurisdiction. And this privilege, 'saca,' held in the lords' hall, 'hallmote,' giving the name 'Soche' to such district, and to the inhabitant céorls that of 'Sochmen,' operated to vary the customs and jurisprudence of the country at large. Every male, under penalty of loss of freedom, enrolled himself in his hundred or in his soche. And the hundred or the soche stood responsible for him. The master of the household answered for the misdeeds of his wife, of his infants, his slaves, or of his cattle; and as a consequence, entitled himself to the wergeld or damage due to or for each of them according to rate. Within the hundred (possibly within the soche also) every ten men formed a tything, the chief man of which practically

acted as police. And in all breaches of the peace the tything impeached the culprit or indemnified the injured person. The form of procedure seems to have been this: When the tything presented an offender, a committee of twelve, of twenty-four, even of thirty-six, members of hundred or of soche sworn to accuse no guiltless man, nor to conceal the guilt of any, sat as umpires. Pledges for appearance on the day of trial being allowed, and the charge being made by oath, verified by compurgators, *i.e.* by neighbours and kindred of equal rank with the prosecutor, the accused also offered his oath of innocence, supported by his compurgators. But since every oath had value in proportion to the station in life and to the wergeld of the juror; since the compurgators of the accused needed to be at the least equal in value to the compurgators of the accuser; and since the penalty of false swearing was onerous; it resulted that a guilty man rarely could escape the condign doom. Even were the oaths of compurgators equal, the ordeal, exciting the imagination and terrifying the spirit, urged the criminal to confession. By drugged waters, by the eucharist, by trial by battle, it came home to conscience that his sin had found him out, that God had disclosed his guilt. Of all these things the committee of hundred or of soche was judge; two thirds gave the verdict, and all dissentients suffered mulct. But this body did not pronounce against the offender. It merely asserted the verity of the indictment, and witnessed to the respective testimonies. The executive took action thereupon. But most crimes were commutable on money payment, adjusted to the quality of the offence and to the rank of the person offended; and, in extreme cases, a man sold children, wife, self, into perpetual slavery

CHAP. V.

to redeem his life; while, on occasion, the residue of the fine fell on tything, soche, or hundred. In principle, the order in burghs differed little. But the municipal system may be traced back to heathen times, wherein upon every occasion of public meeting, thing, market, court, sacrifices and feasting obtained. Christianity contending with these 'devil-gilds,' could but modify the rites. Hence sprang societies for mutual protection, assistance, indemnity—even against fire and shipwreck. An ealdorman president executed their byelaws. And the state operated on them, 1st, by requiring the wergeld due from one member to be paid by the corporation; 2nd, by imposing marine, military, hunting or other services in return for their privilege 'saka,' whereupon the burgh or vill became 'soche' or sanctuary. Such, then, is an outline of the Saxon constitution, and of the 'good laws' to which in its anguish England affectionately reverted. The people had aided in governing itself; control therein humbled it.

Now by the Norman conquest the whole land of England was wrested from its native proprietors and from its ancient institutions. Folcland fell to the king as '*terra regis*:' bôcland, whether in the hand of thegn or of corporation, as forfeit by treason, escheated to the crown. Almost in a moment, William intercalated the Norman form of feudalism, and divided nearly all the thegns' lands among his principal followers to hold the same of him as tenants in chief. These, again, parting their feofs, retained one half to be cultivated by vellein or by serf for the baron's use, and distributed the other half among retainers or among ousted thegns. But all the land so granted, whether by the supreme or by the mesne lord, was apportioned in knights' fees, each of which descended as a heritage; every incident

TENENTES IN CAPITE.

UNDER-TENANTS. KNIGHTS' FEOFS.

of military service and counsel attaching. At first many estates were transferred simply by word of mouth, without writing or charter; only the sword, the helmet, the horn or the cup of the beneficiary being used to symbolise livery of seizin: many tenements were conveyed by means of a spur, a body scraper, a bow, some by an arrow. But in after years the custom was changed. The quantity of land sufficient to constitute a knight's fee varied according to the quality thereof and other considerations. But 20*l.* annual value, enrolled in the exchequer, bound a tenant to serve as a knight, accompanied generally by esquire, a cross-bowman and two coutelassiers, and to pay an escuage or shield tax, whenever the same should be assessed. These ceremonies constituted the grant of a feof: 1. Homage, in which the proposed vassal, bareheaded, ungirt, without sword or spur, kneeling, placed his hands between the lord's hands: promised to become his man thenceforth; to serve with life and limb and worldly honour, faithfully, loyally, in consideration of the lands to be held under him. And thereupon the lord kissed the tenant. 2. An oath of fealty, somewhat less formal, and which might be received by proxy. 3. Investiture, *i.e.* the actual conveyance of the lands; wherein the lord or his deputy brought the tenant on to the very ground, and there, before witnesses, designating the bounds, granted it to him and his heirs according to a formula; or, by presenting some product symbolical of land, *e.g.* turf, stone, stick, gave livery of seizin, admitted the tenant to the hereditament.

CHAP. V.

Ingulph. A.D. 1066.

Now, under the Anglo-Saxon regime, the oath of a freeman to his lord contained no reservation of fealty to the king: but William, as we have seen, required every landowner whosoever to swear fealty to him

Ingulph.

CHAP. V.

against all persons, without exception. Likewise the English oath on knighthood touched virtue and religion; but the Normans' only obedience in respect of lucre. On decease of a tenant in a feof, the superior lord stood entitled to a 'relief' of horses, hauberks, helmets, lances; afterwards of money to the extent of one fourth of his revenue. And this appears analagous to the 'heriot' of the Anglo-Saxons; for, in theory, the land, granted for contingent services, should revert to the grantor when such service could no longer be rendered. The lord also

Aid.

claimed an aid from his tenant on several occasions. 1, when he paid relief to his superior lord: 2, when his eldest son came to be knighted: 3, on marriage of his eldest daughter: 4, when he himself, captured by an enemy, should be held to ransom. Moreover, he

Benevolence.

expected benevolences, voluntary gifts from time to

Wardship.

time, as it were to test good will. Again: the heir, if minor, lay under care of his lord, who educated him for his duties until the age of twenty-one years; when, having meantime farmed the minor's estate for his own use, he restored the same uninjured and without 'relief.' An heiress, or heiresses (for females on the same grade inherited in common), and the lands of such, lay in like case; but the lord might, under limitations, compel the marriage of an heiress his ward. And when no heir existed, or when the tenant stood convict of felony or

Escheat.

of treason, the feof escheated to the superior. But beside the tenure by knight-service by which all barons, and shortly all bishops and many abbots, held of the king; and under which numerous under-tenants held of such barons and ecclesiastics; there arose a

Grand-sergeanty.

tenure by grand-sergeanty immediately under the king, wherein the service lay in honorary attendance; *viz.* in carrying the royal banner, sword, spear, helm; in acting

CHAP. V.

as high steward, butler, chamberlain, champion, at the coronation feast: in winding a horn upon invasion of the realm, in presenting arrows in a chase. By petit-sergeanty also woodwards, foresters, huntsmen, falconers, cooks, chamberlains, court artificers, and bailifs of the royal manores, held their lands respectively. And tenure by grand-sergeanty varied from knight service in this also, that while 'relief' in such stood at a whole year's revenue, the tenant paid neither escuage nor aid. An inferior tenure subsisted on the king's land as on the barons', in town and in country: *viz.* socage. Free socage wherein in lieu of escuage, aid, or service of any kind, the tenant held by fixed rent in money or in kind: villein socage wherein no escuage nor aid, nor rent, but certain base services were due. But the soch of the Saxons and the soke of the Normans are distinct.

PETIT-SERGEANTY.

SOCAGE.

VILLEINAGE.

According to the Domesday survey, the tenants in chief throughout all England, including the ecclesiastical corporations, amounted to 1,400. Of these the majority held but one knight's feof; but, since the distribution had been by favour, certain Norman nobles possessed many feofs in several counties. The number of tenants under the barons' feofs reached 8,000; whence we gather the enormous acreage pertaining to the king and his followers, and calculate exactly the knightly power of the realm at 9,400, which with its due accompaniment of esquires and foot soldiers, would constitute an army of 18,000 cavalry and 28,000 infantry—about a sixth part of the registered population. Other tenants—those by sergeanty and soke, mainly the latter—amounted to 250,000. Of a class intermediate between the free and the villein, as Radchenistri, Radmen, there were 1,118: of Sochmen (not to be confounded with Sokemen) holding heritable

CHAP. V.

land, swearing fealty and doing homage, bound to some military service, and to 'reliefs,' and to pay rent in money or kind, there existed 23,072 north of Watling Street (which ran from London on Thames to Chester on Dee): and, south of that line, corresponding to this class, Coleberti 858, Gebûrs (boors) 64. These all, once free céorls, now ranked as villeins of first order: inferior to them Cotsetlas 1,749, Cotarii 5,054; and below them again 82,609 Bordarii, comprised of Saxon men who afore time had dwelt in their own huts and kale gardens, and Norman settlers of the baser sort, who fed at the lord's board. And lastly serfs, 25,000 absolute slaves, the offspring, it is conceived, of Roman, British, or other prisoners of war, and of such freemen 'witetheowas' as by sentence of law had been degraded. The thegn departing with his land might pass with it his dependant céorls: but no master could sell his theow beyond the seas. And it seems the Normans made no change whatever in the lot of these.

COLEBERTI. GEBÛRS.

COTSETLAS. COTARII. BORDARII.

SLAVES.

In computing the aggregate of the above figures in relation to the population as registered at 283,000, there must be deducted a great part, if not the whole, of the infantry; for the bowmen and coutelassiers which formed it certainly came from one or other class of sub-tenant. And since certain counties and cities are altogether omitted in the survey: since monks in cloister and garrisons are not enumerated; the actual number of heads of houses must be again increased, possibly to the full figure of 300,000. And then, allowing four to each household, the grand total would not exceed a million and a quarter of souls.

LAW. Under title of 'The Great Council,' the Witena gemote continued: but its constituents were now Norman barons and ecclesiastics. The Church court was

separated from the Hundred court. The laws of Eadward, modified to surroundings, were published in Latin and in French. Earls and county courts supplanted the ealdormen and their jurisdiction; and, if peradventure English presidents remained over the Hundreds, it is manifest that all pleadings proceeded in the alien tongue. Instead of the spiritual ordeal, wager of battle might be claimed; and a man accused of homicide, theft or the like, might, under intricate arrangements, purge himself by combat à l'outrance. Death gave the verdict.

Ingulph.

WILLIAM II.

A.D. 1087—1100.

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CONTEMPORARY POTENTATES.

Emperor	Popes	King of France	Kings of Scotland
HENRY IV.	URBAN II. d. 1099.	PHILIP I.	MALCOLM III. d. 1093.
(THURINGIA.)	PASCHAL II.		DONALDBANE, dep. 1094.
			DUNCAN, d. 1094.
			DONALDBANE, 1097.
			EADGAR.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE THROUGHOUT.
FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.
EADMER.
HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, FROM 1088.
ORDERIC VITALIS, FROM 1070.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM II.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1087.

WHILE, in accordance with Norman usage, the hereditary domains passed to Robert (Curthose) and the acquired territories to William (Rufus), the bearing of Saxon England operated to consolidate the duchy with the realm; and, in effecting the Conqueror's prediction, secured coronet and crown to the unportioned Henry, in whom, after a while, the native dynasty incorporated itself.

William's claim to the succession lay but in the late king's letter. Of himself he possessed no royal quality: nor had his elevation been looked for. It had been competent to the nation to decline the mortuary suggestion. Farther, the theory of electing its ruler had full precedent in this kingdom—and Eadgar, with others of his stock, and the sons of Harold were living; whereas the dominant caste, with proclivities to anarchy rather than to fealty, oscillated between the pretensions of Robert and of William. Considering which facts, with reference to the treasons and revolts of past years, and to the condition of the two countries at this juncture, a revolution had not been hopeless. But abortive risings had resulted in deeper misery. An habitual want of consent had unnerved patriotism. Raids of allies—of the Scots' king, of Harold's sons, of the Danes—had subdued faith: long drawn tyranny had exhausted

CHAP. I. A.D. 1087.

hope; and a generation which knew not any Hereward had grown up, prepared to devote itself to dishonour. Without a thought for Ætheling or for other native, the English people now favoured the prince most obnoxious to his compatriots—if not with design, mechanically—upheld him against them with enthusiasm, and cheerfully advanced his unbrotherly encroachments.

Eadmer, pp. 13–14.

At the moment of embarking at Witsand, the all-obedient son heard of his father's death. Eighteen days after that event, Archbishop Lanfranc, having bound him to practise justice and mercy, to defend the Church, and ever abide by his counsel, consecrated and crowned him. The ceremony, abrupt and brief, at once silenced every aspiration to the contrary. 'All the men of England acknowledged the anointed one, and took the due feudal oathes.' The reign of the second William had begun. Pursuant to their promised manumission, he had brought over Wulfnoth, Harold's brother, and the earl Morkere; but he transferred their prison to Winchester. From the 'horde' in that city, however—60,000 lbs. of silver, vessels of plate, vestments, gems of untold value—he satisfied the other injunctions of his father's testament: *viz.* ten, six or less marks of gold to each monastery, sixty pence to each village church, 100 lbs., silver, to the poor of each county. Of his own will, it seems, he distributed among the abbeys—spoil of earlier days—crosses, altars, reliquaries, that so God might be appeased through the benediction of clergy and devout men's prayers. Contrarywise, Duke Robert freely released and even honoured with knighthood the hostages, Ulf King Harold's son, and Duncan King Malcolm's son; and, according to his means, scattered liberally for the good

Sept. 26.

A.S.Chron.

Flo. Wig. H. Hunt.

Ingulph.

of his father's soul. The contrast between these brothers must be noted; for the affairs of their respective dominions henceforth act reciprocally each on the other. William, under the Primate's guidance, ingratiated himself with the Saxon population and with ecclesiastics. Robert, through indolence, yielding to his barons, promoted disloyalty. On the other hand, the English nobles more or less interested in Normandy, affected the dignity of a conquering race rather than the show of allegiance in a conquered state; and of them the greater number had fain regard the Conqueror's heir by Norman custom as their lawful king. CHAP. I. A.D. 1088.

In this position, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who had been restored to his Earldom (Kent), Robert, his brother, Count of Mortagne and Earl of Cornwall, Roger de Montgomery Earl of Shrewsbury and his three sons (Robert de Belésme the eldest of them), Hugh de Grantmesnil Earl of Leicester, Robert de Rhuddlan, Eustace the younger Count of Boulogne, Osbern Fitz Richard (Scrope), Robert de Mowbray Earl of Northumberland, and the Bishops Geoffery (de Mowbray) of Coutances and William of Durham—all Normans of vast resources in England—protesting against the separation from their hereditary country of a land achieved by their blood, conspired to depose William, and to place Robert on the throne. During Lent, therefore, armed associates rallied, and throughout the realm partisans stood ready to revolt at Easter. Odo, having fortified Rochester, invited the Duke, if he were not wanting to himself, to reach manfully at the crown, his right. And on the instant Robert, sending troops, prepared for triumph. The arrival of the auxiliaries became the signal whereon each chief malcontent de- Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron.

CHAP. I.

A D. 1088.

parting to his hold, victualled and garrisoned to his ability; and thence, at the appointed time, marched forth to burn and plunder, to waste the crown lands, and to ruin the estates of loyal men. Bishop Geoffery and Robert of Mortagne sacked Bristol, Bath and the region as far as Berkeley; the lords of Hereford and Salop, Bernard de Neufmarché, Roger de Lacy, Ralf de Mortimer, William d'Eu and the Welsh ravaged Worcestershire. The Bishop of Durham spoiled the north; Roger Bigod, seizing Norwich Castle, harassed the county; Hugh de Grantmesnil rioted in Leicestershire and in Northampton; in Kent Bishop Odo devastated the property of the king and of the archbishop.

Such overt acts, and the wide dimension of them, strangely troubled the mind of William, who, notwithstanding; being wisely counselled, called to his side all of known loyalty, and from London directed the defences of his kingdom.

Among the Normans William de Warrenne, Hugh Earl of Chester, and Robert Fitz Hamon, of free will stood by the king: but to the English, to the ousted thegns and vassal freemen, possibly to the Londoners also, William condescended to lay open his necessities and his dependance. Promising them better laws than they had ever known, remission of all unjust taxes (for his father's law to that effect had not been much observed), and liberties in their forests, he procured a force of horse and foot, small but valiant, with which he marched on Tonbridge. After two days' siege and a storm, Gilbert Fitz Richard (De Clare) being wounded, and that castle with certain of Bishop Odo's knights surrendering, the royal army summoned Rochester. Here, captained by Eustace of Boulogne and Robert de Belésme, the garrison, en-

Ll. Guil. I. 55. Wilkins.

forced by Duke Robert to 500 men-at-arms, with Anglo-Norman barons many and the sons of many, lay ensconced; and herein had been lodged much recent spoil. Odo himself had retired on Pevensey, and, with Robert of Mortagne, being besieged therein, for six weeks stood out against the royal arms; till in want of food and in despair of success he came forth solemnly to abjure the realm. But, when brought before the walls of Rochester that he might arrange the terms of submission, the bishop, in the act of parley, secretly passed within the grate, and Count Eustace, capturing the king's officers, drew up the bridge. From time to time troops, arriving from Normandy in detachments, had been cut off; yet the Pretender, in power, might be looked for instantly. The fall of Rochester had become a quick necessity; and William, issuing a general summons under ban, that every man who was '*unnithing*'—not base and fit to be discharged from the soldiers' gild—should come to him, again laid siege to Rochester. An army of 30,000 Englishmen obeyed the call. A reaction happened throughout the country. Bishop Wulfstan achieved a miraculous victory over the Marchers. By main force, in other parts, bishops and folk put down rebellion; and Roger Bigod, without a following in East Anglia, shut himself in Arundel to await events. Duke Robert came not at all. And Rochester, straightened by two extemporised forts, reduced to utmost misery—an Egyptian plague of flies, the result of carrion, perhaps, adding horror to fear—capitulated.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1088.

O. V. viii. 2. R. Wend. R. Hoved. H. Hunt. S. Dunelm. May.

The chiefs, fain to be re-enfeoffed, and overweening, vouched loyalty for time to come: but the king spurned all protestations, denayed all compromise; nor willingly, under tedious considerations drawn from

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1088.

Scripture on the higher expediency of appeasing the whole Norman race, suffered them to depart with horse and arms. Even when Odo prayed respect for his person and office, a dangerous murmur animated the camp, trumpeters flourished a triumph, and deriding soldiers shouted "Halters! halters for the traitors!" as in fear and shame the twice perjured bishop-earl and his accomplices passed towards the coast. Shortly sentence of banishment issued against William, Bishop of Durham, also, vanquished in his city, and against many others; and the king, according to custom and policy, divided the escheated lands among the faithful; only some few finding grace, Roger Earl of Norfolk, and, as I apprehend, Robert Earl of Northumberland, who, after a brief loyalty, again revolted.

See Hardy, Cat. B. H. II. Nos. 114, 116.

A.D. 1089.

The satisfying his brother Henry's coparcenary claim on certain lands that had been assigned to the deceased queen, and, in the interval, had been granted to Hamon l'Estrange, timed with the death of Archbishop Lanfranc, William's tutor from childhood, his only mentor; and, at the age of twenty-six years, the rough, reckless, ruddy king, his aristocracy awed, his people timidly confiding, wielded sceptre and sword responsible only to God. Having broken the baronial power which had been the curb of monarchy, William released himself from the trammels of his promises. The hour had not arrived for those good laws towards which England so fondly looked. And, although under wise counsel at home, by arms and intrigues abroad, he subdued the Norman interest to his throne; neither by justice nor by any conciliations did he attempt the welfare of the Saxon community.

May 24.

Flo. Wig.

Prince Henry and Robert de Belésme, pardoned by William, had on their return been imprisoned by

Robert; for, under the revengeful suasion of Bishop Odo, reconciliation with England implied hostility to the rival power. But the turmoils of Normandy effected their release, and the affront justified their after enmity. Roger Earl of Shrewsbury arriving, put his castles in defence against the duke, who, presently rallying the Maincels with Geoffery of Mayenne, Robert the Burgundian, Elias de Beaugency, William Count d'Evreux, Ralf de Conches, William de Bréteuil and others of note, armed against the king's adherents. Ballon, after obstinate resistance, yielded: the starved garrison of S. Ceneri suffered mutilation as the meed of valour. In dread, Alençon and Belésme tottered; when, suddenly Robert, disbanding, withdrew to sloth and luxury. William now entered the field. His vassals, Walter de St. Valery and Stephen d'Aumale, Gerard de Gournay, Robert Count d'Eu, Walter Giffard and Ralf de Mortimer fortified against the duke. And 'that Normandy which so lately triumphed in the conquest of England, now felt in her own bosom the calamities of war. The wealth she had wrung from the Saxon people became like a poison in her veins, exciting to mad strength and wild covetousness in her nobles.' 'Like Babylon, she drank of the cup of tribulation she had poured forth to another.'

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1089. O. V. viii. 4.

O. V. viii. 5.

A.D. 1090. O. V. viii. 9.

Ib. viii. 15.

Prince Henry, having purchased the Cotentin and made allies of his father's friends, stood on guard against the violence of either brother. But everywhere throughout the duchy the king had gained that allegiance which the duke had forfeited. Lawlessness had become general and open. Each baron strengthened his hold, and with his posse warred or rapined. Even Rouen consulted on deposing its 'drowsy lord.' And one wealthy Conan, heading a

Ib. viii. 1.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1090. Nov. 3.

faction, entertained soldiers to that end, and signalised his aptness to the royal force at Gournay. Robert, awaking to his risk, summoned his adherents. Prince Henry forgot his quarrel, and came quickly with reinforcements into the Tower. Gilbert de l'Aigle and a troop of horse crossed the bridge and faced the city on the south. Raymond de Warrenne, with 200 men-at-arms, galloped to the westward gate of Chaux: others advanced in rear. William's partisans, some behind these, others already within the walls, joining the disaffected, rebellion brake forth in full frenzy of civic war. Pent-up hatreds burst out, thieves rioted, violence sped. Cries of grief and of terror grew contagious, men and women shrieking, shouting, fighting, falling, fleeing. By advice, Robert passed secretly through the east gate and taking boat reached Ermendreville; but Henry led his arms into the thickest fray, and meeting Gilbert who had forced the southern gate, crushed all opposites and took the chief of them. Revolt ceased. But the prince led the traitor into the Tower and to a window high above surroundings. "See," said he, "Conan, what a beautiful land is this that you have desired! See the park—its delice woods and glades, its pasture and its shelter for beasts of chase: see this winding Seine, replete with fish, its waters washing our city walls, its reaches studded with merchant vessels: see this populous town, strong in forts, gay in palaces, blessed with so many shrines: of this, our Rouen, you would be duke?" Trembling under the irony, and bewraying his guilt, Conan cried for mercy, offered all his gold and silver —all the riches of his friends—for life. But Henry, swearing by his mother's soul, denayed all ransom for a traitor, nor would allow priestly aid at all; and

CHAP. I.

seizing the wretched caitiff in his arms, hurled him backwards to his doom. Robert, it is said, would have spared his people; but the nobles—de Belésme and de Brétuiel chiefly—treated the citizens as rebels. And William, foiled in his attempt, animated his vassals De Grantmesnil and De Courci against De Belésme, once more his adversary; while Robert called on his suzerain for aid. France hurried to the rescue, but, bribed by England, marched from the scene; and when William in person besieged Eu, King Philip mediated a peace between the brothers. The county of Eu, Fécamp, Gournay and Conches, castles and territories, the abbey of Mont S. Michel and Cherbourg, being ceded to the King of England, William undertook to conquer Le Mayne for Robert, to reinstate him in all revolted towns, and to restore to such Normans as had been banished by him their feofs in England. Moreover, under oath of twelve barons on each side, in case of no legitimate issue on either part, the succession to realm and duchy was then settled on the survivor.

A.D. 1090, 1, 2.

A.D. 1091.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

It is notable in this as in many another stage of history, that, while the policy of princes, like the strategy of generals, changes on definite and intelligible purpose, the passions of interest and of animosity hale the magnates from any course to its opposite suddenly, vehemently. Prince Henry and the Count de Belésme, so lately accused of favouring William, preserved Rouen to Robert. Presently William and Robert with de Belésme besiege Henry at Mont S. Michel. And ere long, the strong city of Domfront, renouncing Robert de Belésme, homages Henry; and Robert and William, while their Norman adherents are still unquiet, transfer the scene of war to Scotland.

A.D. 1092.

O. Vit. viii. 19.

CHAP. I.

It is related of Rufus that in a skirmish before Mont S. Michel, a girth breaking, he fell; and that, being pressed by enemies, he evinced a presence of mind and humour less common than that courage of which he was a type. Seizing his saddle, the king held it and his life at the sword's point, saying to those who jested "By the holy face at Lucca, one must be able to keep one's own. It would be a shame to lose what one could defend. The Bretons would have bragged had they taken my saddle." On another day, his charger, just bought for 15 marks silver, being mortally wounded, dragged him by the foot into the enemy's ranks. "Hold rascal," he cried to one who drew on him, "I am the king of England!" His well-known voice helping him to another horse, he mounted with a leap, saying shrewdly, "Which of you struck me?" "It was I," said a soldier, "I took you for a knight." "By the holy face at Lucca, then, thou shalt be mine henceforth; placed on my roll thy gallantry shall have reward." When the besieged lacked water and Robert interceded, "If we let our brother die of thirst, where shall we find another?" William answered, "A fit one thou to conduct a war! How shall we overcome if we indulge our foes with meat and drink?"

Rom. de Rou, 14670, sq.

W. Malm. iv. 1.

R. de Rou, 14672.

A.D. 1091. May.

On precedent dear to the Gaël, King Malcolm perceiving the embroilments abroad, had renounced fealty and crossed the border. But the brothers had overcome the brother, and hand in hand William and Robert led the whole military force of England into Scotland. The fleet, intended, as in the first William's time, to act in consort and to provide transport, had been wrecked: knights and their horses had perished at sea or by cold and hunger in the desolate Northumbria, and, when the English reached the Forth, the

Flo. Wig.

Sept.

CHAP. I.

Scots on the opposite shore stood inexpugnable. The character of King Malcolm as already revealed explains his conduct now. He denied not the suzerainty of England, nor retreated from any compact. "With King William I have naught to do," he said, "Let me see Robert the lawful heir, him will I homage." Chivalrous Robert accordingly crossed the Forth; whereupon Malcolm showing him from a summit his host displayed, said "With these I am prepared to meet your brother or to defend you;" adding the very apocryphal tale, "When King Eadward gave me his niece in marriage, he conferred on me the Lothian lands between Tweed and Forth. And King William, your father, confirmed the same, commending you to me as his eldest son." But he who warred openly against father and brothers, spurned treachery; and, being guileless, avoided the snare. "Aye," he answered, "but these arrangements have been changed by circumstances. Be advised. Return with me to my brother. He is a near neighbour to you, richer and more powerful than I: from him you may expect greater benefits." Now on the Scots' irruption, William had prevailed on Robert to reclaim the feofs granted by him to the Ætheling; and Eadgar, banished from Normandy, had sought asylum in Scotland. Robert, therefore, now called in as mediator the Saxon prince, who, reconciled and reconciling, proposed that Malcolm should swear fealty to King William as theretofore to the Conqueror he had sworn: that William should restore to King Malcolm twelve vills in England antecedently held by him, under the old rent of twelve marks of gold. In effect, both armies disbanded: the two kings journeyed together; and at Gloucester ratified peace on that basis. Next year, however, Malcolm, irritated at the results, more especially at the ejection

A.D. 1091-2. O. Vit. viii. 22.

W. Malm.

A.D. 1092.

O. Vit. viii. 22. A.S.Chron.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1093. Aug. 24.

Flo. Wig. Nov. 13.

Cf. W. Malm. de Gestis, Regum ii. 7.

A.S.Chron. A.D. 1092.

of Dolphin his viceroy in Cumberland, and at certain slights put on him when at Gloucester a second time—Rufus refusing conference or 'to do him right upon the borders'—again, with his eldest son, Eadward, brake in upon Northumbria; and there perished at the hand of one Morcar, in an ambush laid by Earl Mowbray. Now the region, Cumberland, to which the Scots' kings had at least prescriptive title had been desolate time immemorial; Carlisle, its chief city, in ruins since the Danes' raid two centuries past. And King William, perceiving that in a loyal people rather than in waste tracts lay the security of his borders, had rebuilt Carlisle, and transplanted to the neighbourhood the men, their wives and children, who on the clearance of the New Forest in Hants had become homeless. And by dividing the lands among this purely Saxon race he refounded on the marches of Scotland that national barrier which Time fails to break; fostered, by graft on the ancient stock, that stalwart tribe whence, to this day, our Guards are recruited.

A.S.Chron. A.D. 1093. Fordun, Ch. Sc. v. 20.

Almost immediately on the death of her husband and son—the latter having escaped but to die of his wounds—Queen Margaret, after the manner of unconsolable women at that era, took the veil and deceased. And Donald Bane, brother of the late king, seizing the crown, banished all Englishmen from Scotland. At the same time, William, in policy ignoring Malcolm's lawful issue, prepared to assert the succession of that son, Duncan, who had lived as a hostage in Normandy, and had been knighted by Duke Robert. Having accepted his homage, he now sent Duncan with Saxon and Norman troops to oust his uncle. But the Scots defied aliens. They slew those troops; and in receiving Duncan as king, bound him never again to bring in such. Presently,

on discovering his bias, they slew him also and reset Donald on the throne. And—to conclude these incidents—some years later, King William armed the Ætheling (Eadgar of England), who put down Donald finally, and restored Eadgar (Prince of Scotland), true son of King Malcolm, under strict vassalage to the crown of England. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. S. Dunelm. Fordun. A.D. 1097 S. Dunelm.

Throughout our history there is no event of more certain recurrence than the sympathetic action of the Keltic race. The Gael, wheresoever his site, responds instinctively to each Gaellic movement. If England be engaged on foreign war, the Scots will cross the border: when England advances on the Tweed, Wales bursts the Marches: and in either case the Irish cast in a spear upon the hated Teuton. Scotland in a manner pacified, Wales now becomes the field of strife. A land partitioned according to Keltic mode, whereby the territory of each tribe became divisible among all its members on the death of the chief: ruled by princes or kings independent of each other and ever quarrelling among themselves, offered to the Norman adventurer infinite opportunities. And while the conquerors pressed into the midst, the national irritability, maddened by home jealousies, struck itself in party broils rather than attempted a common foe. Flo. Wig.

In battle, but through treachery, and at the age of ninety years, Rhys ap Tydr, the last true king of South Wales, falling, Robert Fitz Hamon and twelve Norman knights who had been invited into the faction by Llewellyn and Eineon, parcelled the province. But since by the custom above stated seizin of land involved no confiscation of particular property, all the hardship of conquest as experienced by the more settled Saxons had been avoided: and since the plastic Nor- A.D. 1093.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1093–4.

man had affinities with the Kelt, the races made it possible to dwell together in peace. In fact the Welsh looked on their new Norman lords as in some sort chieftains: the aliens respected the native princes as their peers: the rest of the people passed from clansmen to adherents—it had been very much the same when the Franks under Clovis invaded Gaul. Nay, friendly feelings arose. Norman barons sought Welsh heiresses; prevailing through marriage liefer than through arms. None opposed Fitz Hamon, who retained the royal lands of Glamorgan, and of the 18 castles, 36 knights' fees and many lesser estates pertaining thereto, beneficed his followers. Captured Brecknoch cheerfully acknowledged Bernard of Newmarché; recognising in his wife Nesta a daughter of its tribal princes. Nevertheless, in process of time the restiveness of the tribes and the avarice of the intruder clashed. Conspiracies urged on irrepressible outbreaks. In Cheshire, Herefordshire, Salop, as in the interior of Wales, Norman vills were burnt, holds sacked, garrisons exterminated. Montgomery's castle fell again to the ancient Briton: the sacred isle of Anglesea (Mona) righted itself. Twice repelled in person, King William now reverted to his father's precedent so effectual in North Wales; and, receiving homage for Powis and Cardigan from Roger de Montgomery; for Dyfed (Pembroke) from Arnulf of Montgomery; for Ewias from Hugh de Lacy; for Wigmore from Ralf de Mortimer; and for lesser districts from other barons; invested them severally with power in his name to conserve and extend the Marches; while strong castles, Wigmore, Merioneth, Clifford, Caerleon, Ewias, Shrewsbury, Luvre, Stanton, Montgomery—all commenced by the Conqueror on one model and of hewn stone—defied attacks of unskilled natives and

G. Camb. It. i. 12.

Essay, pref. to Powel's Hist. of Wales.

A.S. Chron. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1094.

G. Camb. A.S. Chron. Flo. Wig. S. Dunelm.

A.D. 1098. W. Malm. O. Vit. x. 6, 7.

became the several bases of encroachment on the coveted country. While Hugh de Montgomery Earl of Shrewsbury was recovering Anglesea with outrageous cruelty, there happened the last viking expedition hither. Magnus III. (Barfod) King of Norway, Lord of the Orkneys and Hebrides and of Man, cruising off the Isle, rumour spread that Harold, son of King Harold, being in that fleet, would once more try the destiny of England. Notwithstanding a token of good will—the red shield at masthead—the Marchers resisted Magnus' landing; and Earl Hugh, horsed, on a promontory, received in the right eye the wanton arrow of the royal pirate, and fell into the sea. Peace between Northman and Norman ensued upon explanation of the error. But the vacant earldom being sold to Hugh's elder brother Robert de Belésme for 3,000 lbs. of silver, local animosities more violent than ever followed.

CHAPTER II.

CHAP. II.

I MUST now refer to church affairs. The building of monasteries, of cathedral and parochial places of divine worship—that grand passion of the Norman race, its enduring monument—continued. But, whereas the father had perceived the realm's advantage both in a cultivated hierarchy, and in a national exercise of religion, the son, careless of spiritual concernings, improvident of the state, despised the clergy and their architecture altogether. Lanfranc had, as I apprehend, privately—for there is no evidence of the formal coronation oath—sworn the second William according to Saxon formula, to honour holy church, to respect its immunities, even to abide by its counsels. And it redounds to Lanfranc's glory that during his life the Red King, so ungovernable thereafter, had once borne himself wisely. But on the Primate's death, one Ranulf Flambard—styled Passeflambard, as a brand carrier, an alien, fostered by King Eadward, beneficed by the Conqueror—filled the place expedient in a profligate court; that of parasite, intelligent adviser, unscrupulous agent. It would appear that in the previous reign this man had evinced financial talent; for to him an adroit proposition is traced, that, since the Saxon acre measured more than the Norman acre, a larger tax ought to be imposed on English tenants. Near to the king's person now, whether as chaplain or chief

An. Winton, fo. 23. O. Vit. x. 2.

justiciary, Flambard henceforth directed and executed affairs; having charge of the metropolitan see of Canterbury and from time to time of the several sees of Sarum, Winchester, Durham and Lincoln.

Flo. Wig. A.D. 1099 Alured R. p. 144.

When Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) provoked Christendom by aggressions on the secular power, and especially by his peremptory claim to 'invest' bishops and abbots, Lanfranc's prudence had supported England's just view upon that subject. I say 'just view' regardless of the clerks' idea, because it had ever been the Saxon principle—and it seems to me that it should be a national principle—that there ought to be no power within a realm independent of, still less paramount to, the state power. '*Imperium in Imperio*,' that which Rome demanded as of apostolic right, being a mischievous paradox; and the term 'investiture' having, moreover, a political sequence not less destructive. The personal character of Lanfranc, so esteemed at the Vatican, had constituted him a mediator confidential to both parties. The particular desires of this Pontiff, therefore, might be granted, while demands in behalf of the sovereign see were disallowed. Thus, *e.g.* the king, as lord of the land, would nominate his subject or a denizen to be bishop or abbot within his realm, and would grant to such the temporalities incident: but the Pope, since he represented the head of the church on earth, should give sanction preceding the act of consecration. The Pope might not, under ecclesiastical censure, compel the king: neither might the king induct to any benefice contrary to the canon. So, tacitly, if not in expressed terms, it stood in the Conqueror's mind, in Lanfranc's, in Hildebrand's. But less happy surroundings operated on the continent to reject compromise, and to create an anti-pope, Gerbert,

CHAP. II.

(Clement III.) And, during the lives of Victor III. and of Urban II., this country held aloof from Rome, its pretensions, and its due. It convened with Rufus' humour to know neither pope nor anti-pope, nor to nominate bishop or abbot; rather to sequestrate church hereditaments to the exchequer. And in the fiscal department Flambard aided. Four years of this nefarious practice had now depressed the clergy, if not demoralised the people, when, at Alveston near Gloster, the king, on being seized with some dangerous malady, quieted his conscience by renewed vows. He sware, vicariously, through bishops, that he would not again sell or tax the church: would annul bad laws and enact good laws. Accordingly, he refounded S. Mary's Abbey at York and a convent of nuns at Armathewaite; rebuilt Dorchester, the mother church of Lincoln, and gave that diocese to Robert Bloet his chancellor. Also he promised to name a Primate. But on recovered health returned his evil habits. The two Losings, father and son—so named from their flattering manners—obtained respectively the Abbey of Winchester and the See of Thetford, the latter by open purchase at 1,000 lbs. silver: nor were unjust practices abandoned nor any mitigations of national grievance proposed.

Eadmer. Vit. Aus. p. 29.

A.D. 1093. Flo. Wig.

Monast. Angl. Lapp. 243. Flo. Wig.

A.D. 1094.

It is not my purpose to follow out church history: but the History of England, at certain epochs, is, in a manner, a history of the church; and, at the period in review, the influence of Lanfranc and of Anselm our Primates must be noted. For the chief action of a remote time is apt to centre on some man whose individual prowess happened to suit the requirements of his age. We tabulate the patriots, the conquerors; but the true demigod is often to be discovered by his

CHAP. II.

endurance rather than by his deeds; and for him to have failed in a righteous cause becomes more glorious than to have slain monsters, effected revolutions or led armies to victory. The wars and alliances of kings, the pedigrees and the might of a nation's magnates, often crowd the chronicle when the life of scribe or saint bears greater value. Occasionally the cloister has provided for our liberties more amply than sceptre, sword, or yet popular voice. They who, for Rome's sake, contended with kings, modified monarchy: they who set Holy Church above principalities and made conventual rule a moral duty, at least taught that there existed other and greater interests than the worldliness around them.

A.D. 1032. Vita B. Lanfr. ss. i. sq. Chron. Bec. pp. 195–6. A.D. 1040. ib. A.D. 1042. ib. A.D. 1051. A.D. 1047–59.

Lanfranc, born of a noble family at Padua, eminent as an advocate there, and already known as a judicious commentator on the Pandects, for some cause unexplained, migrated to Normandy; and, shortly after entering the Monastery of Bec, of which he became prior, attracted the regard of Christendom as a theologian and defender of the Catholic faith. For, when Berengar, Bishop of Tours, published his opinions on the Eucharist—identical, I conceive, with those of Johannes Scotus (Erigena) the Irishman—Lanfranc, in the old spirit of an advocate and the new spirit of a schoolman, argued and taught. Holy Church approved, and thoughtless people eagerly accepted, the logic of that 'great thinker' of his day—albeit such led to most preposterous conclusions; and a doctrine plain and reasonable—so far as man can understand it—became thenceforth heretical. The question between these divines has no place here; but it is of great interest to the student: first, in its subject matter: secondly, because of the conduct of Lanfranc therein: thirdly, since

W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, lib. iii. Cf. Lib. de Corpore etc. adv. Bereng.

CHAP. II.

Berengar, recanting his recantation, reiterated those views which five centuries later resulted in a lasting schism from the Roman dogma.

W. Malm. de Pont. 148.

Chron. Bec. pp. 198–9.

However, Lanfranc, as a casuist, pronouncing against William's marriage with Matilda of Flanders, on the priestly ground of consanguinity, had been banished. And it is told of him that riding to the frontier on a lame palfrey he confronted the Duke, as if by chance; when, taking advantage of that stern man relaxed, he pleasantly begged a sounder beast that so he might the sooner carry out his sentence. Great men have quick apprehension of fit agents. Whatever occurred on that occasion resulted in a firm friendship; and

Vita B. Lanfr. s. 16.

the prior of Bec, journeying to the apostolic chair, actually procured for his patron that very dispensation against which he had so canonically inveighed. Grant of the abbacy of Caen and an offer of the

A.D. 1067.

archbishopric of Rouen attested gratitude, but the

A.D. 1070. A.S.Chron.

emphatic mark of William's confidence rests in the appointment of Lanfranc to the Primacy of England.

Among ecclesiastics the formula of a conscientious '*nolo*' obtains: scruples have at all times intervened between the nomination and investiture of a prelate. On this occasion it needed the earnest pressure of the king and of the barons, of the papal legate, of the synod of Normandy, and finally of the Pope's injunction, to weigh down the passions of the cloister, to encourage

Lanfr. Ep. 3.

the self-diffidence of the man whose praise is that he mitigated many evils of the Conquest by his humanities, that he raised religious offices by his piety, and that

Carmen 'de Morte.'

the voice of all blessed him. It is true that in the general tenour of his archiepiscopate he inclined towards Roman policy: that in dealing with his suffragans and with the province he designed to conform all to

CHAP. II.

the so-called apostolic model; but in the great question which touched his loyalty to king and country, his tact, his moderation, his knowledge of the world and his natural honesty, availed, as I have shewn, to conserve the liberties of the National Church without offence to the catholic consistory. The fact that he proposed as fit to be made bishops, Arnot, Gundulf, for Rochester, Robert, for Hereford: that he sustained in their sees, notwithstanding plausible objections, Heriman of Sarum, Peter of Lichfield: that, without rancour, he contended with Thomas of York for the metropolitan pre-eminence of Canterbury, and devotedly loved the venerable Wulfstan, may, with his minute precepts to the Benedictines, suffice to shew his care for the church, and his noble sense of his obligations thereto. The firmness and leniency with which he governed the realm during the king's long and frequent sojourning abroad testify to his wisdom.

Lanfr. Epp. 4, 5, 7. Vita Lanfr. s. 33. Oratio Lanfr. Pro Ordine S.B. Vita, ss. 26, 27. O. Vital. iv. 7.

In the exceptional conditions of a disorganised realm, Lanfranc exactly complemented the Conqueror. In the reaction, Anselm vainly assayed to control Rufus. Yet, if that straightness of purpose which, making use of proper means, led the first William to choose Lanfranc as his moral balance betoken an overruling of evils to righteous ends, Providence is no less evident when the general voice calls meek Anselm to rebuke the second William's folly.

Cf. J. Saresb. Vita S. Anselmi, s. 6; and see Hardy, Cat. B. H. ii. Pref. pp. xxiv. sq.

The early life of Anselm, like that of Lanfranc and of many another clerk designed for the hierarchy, had passed in study of secular things. His father, a spendthrift, having become a monk, his mother had trained him to religious practice. After her decease, the desire for worldly knowledge growing, Anselm quitted Italy and found wisdom in the school of Lanfranc.

Chron. Bec. A.D. 1090.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1078.

Eadmer, Vita. S. Ans.

At the age of twenty-seven years he took the cowl in the order of S. Benedict; and, when the Master removed to Caen, the scholar was raised to his chair. He became Abbot subsequently. Of a simpler disposition than his teacher, in learning not inferior, in ardour equal, Anselm enjoyed the reverence of all. The grim conqueror felt the gentleness of his presence: the haut barons affectionately regarded him. Especially in gratifying the humour of the day—the founding of convents—French, Normans, English, looked to him for counsel. Thus it happened that Hugh Earl of Chester when innovating S. Werburgh's invited him to England. But in truth the English magnates, lay and cleric, had already discovered in Anselm the indispensable regulator of their Church affairs. During four years Rufus had exchequered the revenues of Canterbury, had sold 'the sacred honours of the Church,' and, through Flambard and other 'men of Belial,' had 'inventoried' to his own use the proceeds of vacant sees and abbeys: he, 'the nursing father of the Church,' acknowledging neither Pope nor Antipope, the spiritual nourishment of the people had begun to fail.

Chron. Bec. p. 203.

W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, iv. 1. Lib. Eli. ii. ss. 135, 136 –139.

A.D. 1092.

Anselm had now reached his sixtieth year. For him, a man unconscious of ambition, to renounce the cloister and those studies in which he had so far advanced, to forego the tranquillity needful to his spirit, had been much; and, nervously aware of the coming change, he declined to visit England, till, being charged with affairs of his monastery, his journey seemed divinely ordered. Anselm privately remonstrated with the king: but William neither hearkened, nor treated on the concerns of Bec. At a '*curia*' or court, however, all the nobles of the realm, on considering the condition of the Church, humbly addressed the

P. & C. Eng. p. 4.

king that he would permit general prayers that so God might vouchsafe him grace to appoint a worthy shepherd over the flock of Christ. On request, Anselm composed the form of prayer. One commenting on the abbot's charity, however, provoked the king to say "He will come rejoicing hands and feet, he will clasp my neck should I give him the least hope of the see of Canterbury; but, by the holy face at Lucca, neither he nor any other shall be archbishop beside myself." Shortly, that sickness before told of, terrifying his soul, William nominated Anselm to the Primacy. Which, when the latter heard, he paled; advancing his allegiance due to Duke Robert, his age and manifold incompetencies. And, when the bishops brought him to the king's bedside, and kneeling entreated his assent, he too knelt that they would spare him that cup. In vain the royal command—so little did Rufus know himself or the man he dealt with—Anselm would liefer die than undertake that care. Nay when the prelates tried to force the crozier on him, he clenched his hands; and, although they dragged him into the cathedral and there gave thanks for his election, he responded but on this wise: "Consider, ye imprudent, what it is ye desire. England's plough is drawn by two oxen, the one of secular authority, the other of divine doctrine. Would ye yoke with the young wild bull the old and feeble sheep? I, from whom some might have wool and the milk of God's word and lambs to his fold, should sink under the savagery of your king, and your joy would be turned to sorrow." The king, notwithstanding, bade that all the temporalities enjoyed by Lanfranc should be assured to Anselm: but by the time that Anselm had been released from his obligations in Normandy, William had recovered

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1092–3.

Eadmer, Vita Anselmi, ii. 1093.

March 6. Chron. Bec.

Eadmer, Hist. Nov. pp. 15 sq.

31550

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1093–4.

health. The captives were again imprisoned, the crown debts were exacted to the utmost: no golden laws were passed: oppressions were vigorously renewed. The king repented of his repentance; grieved that he had resigned the See of Canterbury. "By the holy face at Lucca, bishop," said he to Gundulf of Rochester, "The Lord shall find no one good thing in me for all the evil He has inflicted on me!" Whether at this juncture Anselm desired to be released, or by one act to test the limits of his power, he demanded that, beside the city of Canterbury and the abbey of S. Alban, and all those lands which Lanfranc had held, a judicial enquiry should certify the church's right to such other lands as from time to time had been alienated from that see. To this William in part demurred. What Lanfranc had enjoyed should be restored to his successor: as to the other he would advise himself. Yet he strave to engage Anselm to confirm certain grants made since Lanfranc's death.

Eadmer, Hist. Nov. i.

A.D. 1093. Sept. 25. Eadmer. Flo. Wig.

Homaging in a '*conventus nobilium*' at Winchester, Anselm received seizen of the lands of his see as the same had existed four years previously. But the ferocious Bull had already gored the quiet Sheep. And, by various artifices, Flambard procrastinated consecration of the archbishop. Soon, also, the contrast became manifest between the generous priest and the ignoble king. Under advice, Anselm offered 500 lbs. of silver as contribution to the Welsh armament. William asked for 1,000 lbs. The Primate 'would not bargain for royal favour as for a horse or an ass,' and gave the proffered benevolence to the poor. And the king, in revenge, forbade assembly of a synod; nor would present any to the vacant abbeys. Moreover, when the archbishop required that he

A.D. 1094.

might, according to custom, solicit the Pontiff for his pall, the king averred that neither had his father allowed, nor would he suffer, his bishops to choose a Pope; adding that Herbert the Losing, though he had paid 1,000 lbs. for the episcopal staff, had been deprived of it since he looked to Rome for absolution of that simony. CHAP. II. A.S.Chron. S. Dunelm.

At a general council held at Rockingham, whereto the hierarchy and nobles had come by royal desire, 'a numerous multitude of clerks and laics' inflamed, it is said, by Flambard, urged deposition of the Primate, while the prelates, deprecating that act, offered, at the king's will, to renounce obedience and friendly intercourse with their metropolitan. The barons, on the contrary, Robert de Meulan (Bellomont) at their head, stood forth to champion their archbishop, the director of their spiritual concerns, the innocent man. And they sustained him, even against himself. Meantime William had sent secretly to Rome, requiring that the pall should be transmitted mediately, with purpose that Anselm should receive the same directly from his hand. And, in effect, Urban sent the vestment by Walter Bishop of Albano, who, passing unnoticed through Canterbury, gave it to the king at Windsor. Anselm at once refused investment by the secular power; but, by way of compromise, the legate having laid the pall on the high altar, he took it thence 'as if from S. Peter.' A reaction now occurred; no doubt referable to the king's apparent recognition of the Holy See. Remorseful bishops sought absolution from their chief when canonically adorned. The king restored Herbert to Thetford, and named Gerard and Samson, his chaplains, to the sees of Worcester and Hereford. In morals, however, no reformation A.D. 1094. March 12. P. & C. E. 5. Eadmer, i. 30, 31. J. Saresb. Vita Ans. s. 8. Flo. Wig.

CHAP. II.

took place. In vain, like one crying in the wilderness, Anselm raised his voice against the prevailing sins—the simony, the inhuman passions; the king's lust, the nobles' effeminacy; the increasing, descending, example of vice. As a prophet—in strict sense of that word—this man of God, warning of judgment, was unheeded. Even the lesser evils of unmanly fashion refused to yield; and the chronicles teem with the enormities against which he vainly preached.

W. Malm. Eadmer.

O. Vit. viii. 10. W. Malm. iv. 1. R. Nigri, Chron. II. p. 164.

Fulke, Count of Anjou, wore shoes padded at the toes and long pointed, that he might ease the bunions and divert the deformities of his feet. The humour waxed among light minded; and one Robert, named Cornard for this, bringing the mode to England, taught to stuff and twist the extremities like rams' horns; others modelled them on scorpions, others again swung them to their knees by pulleys: absurdities multiplied. Courtiers, parting the hair from the crown to the forehead, or shaving the front 'like thieves,' let their locks flow behind after the manner of harlots. Some, too, bared the neck and bosom: like penitents, pilgrims, captives, they went unshorn, but crisped their beards with irons. Instead of caps they wore fillets: instead of convenient dresses, long shirts, long tunics closely tied at the waist with points, trains that swept the dust, hanging sleeves, loose gloves that marred all grace in action. The practice of arms as of virtue had failed. Life passed in dalliance, in banquetings, silly talk, games of hazard. The outer man declared the inanity and wantonness within. But in truth the contest between the godlike and the brutal needed endurance of nerve not less than moral courage on Anselm's part. And some paltry concernings—some cavil about arms and provender from his

see—so aggravated former slights, that in sheer frailty, if not in that credulous spirit which accepted the Roman theory of duty, he quitted his sphere to seek consolation at the Pontiff's feet. He desired, it is pleaded for him, to inform the Pope on the actual state of England. In that, surely, his conscience homaged the pretender to universal sovereignty; and, albeit he gave his king a parting benediction, he betrayed his country's independence. If, on his knees, he warded off a special excommunication pointed at the chief offender, he nevertheless assented heartily to that general anathema against all who gave and all who received lay investiture. Immediately on his departure William again seized the temporalities of Canterbury. The wild Bull had pulled down the quiet Sheep. The king, according to his threat, had no archbishop in that province but himself. Lanfranc had refused to go to Rome at Pope Gregory's call, because of the inconvenience to his king. But Anselm, against national law, passed into the enemy's camp.

Conc. Romae Easter, A.D. 1099.

CHAPTER III.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1094.

I RETURN to secular history. On rising from his sick bed, Rufus, with his policy, resumed his vices. If indeed (as one who desired to do him justice affirms) 'greatness of soul once characterised this king,' some voluntary hardening of the heart—the outcome of excessive self-indulgence—must have gradually obscured that virtue. His innocence had sped: so also that 'variable' period wherein the nation had anxiously pondered his spirit. And now the balance fell to evil; the open-handed, liberal prince—who knew not money's value at all—grew prodigal, rioted in rapine: his bluff humour waxed to cruelty: the hauteur, worthy of his state, degenerated to vulgar pride.

W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, iv. 1.

A.S.Chron. R. de Monte.

The compact with Normandy, like that with Scotland, had not been agreeable to either party. Conference with Robert seemed expedient; and William went abroad. No reconciliation happening, the king unfurled his standard at Eu, entertained soldiers from all parts, seduced the neighbour nobles, garrisoned their castles as if his own; and, having taken Bures, imprisoned the duke's troops. On the other hand, the Suzerain, when summoned to the rescue, captured Argentan, its 700 knights and as many esquires, by stratagem and without loss, and held all to ransom; while the duke himself compelled surrender of Peveril with 800 men-at-arms in La Houlme. William, on finding

CHAP. III.

himself overmated, quickly summoned 20,000 English footmen; but, being meantime advised, discharged that army when already mustered at Hastings, sequestered the pay provided—at the rate of 10*d.* per man (Flambard, the agent)—and sent the money to the French king as a bribe that he might forego the loyalty due to his vassal. Philip had already advanced to Longueville, and threatened Eu. Now he disbanded. And shortly William, returning home, sent Henry to prosecute the fraternal war.

A.D. 1094–5.

Flo. Wig.

The posture of affairs in Normandy stood thus: William had, by conquest, got hold of some twenty castles: by various means, also, had ingratiated himself with the nobles. Indeed, he kept a standing army at high pay within the duchy, and had established a faction in the midst of Robert's vassals. Henry, too, had enlarged his border beyond Domfront and the Cotentin. And now Henry and William consorted against Robert.

A.D. 1095. A.S.Chron.

Presently a rebellion of some significance brake out in England. Considering the persons and the interests involved, it is probable that the transactions with Scotland on Malcolm's death, not less than disgust at the national regress, had roused the northern barons. Robert de Mowbray Earl of Northumberland—nephew and heir of that Geoffry Bishop of Coutances whose services the Conqueror had rewarded with grants of 280 manours in those parts—a man bold in spirit and of military experience, one altogether of melancholy tone, it is said, holding the king and his court in contempt—conspired with William Count d'Eu and others to effect a revolution in favour of Stephen d'Aumale (Albemarle, son of the Conqueror's half sister, brother of Judith, Earl Waltheof's widow, and of William

A.D. 1095. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. O. Vit. viii. 23.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1095.

d'Alderi, the king's steward). Whether with a view to marine force or in mere piracy, Earl Robert and his nephew Morel captured four Norwegian vessels (canards) and refused all restitution. And the king, having satisfied the traders and in vain summoned the delinquents, marched to avenge himself. On the route, when about to enter a wood, Gilbert de Tonbridge (De Clare), knight, falling at William's feet, prayed pardon, and promised to reveal a treachery in which he had borne part. Being assured, yet not without hesitation, he betrayed an ambush and gave up the conspirators' names. The king, therefore, turned on Tynemouth, the castle whereof, held by Earl Robert's brother, stood out against him for two months. He took Newcastle also, and then sate down before Bamborough. Here the earl lay, with his recent bride, Matilda, daughter of R. l'Aigle, niece of Hugh Earl of Chester, Morel, and a select garrison duly munitioned. Some leaders in revolt had already fallen into William's hands. Others, secretly mingling among the royal troops, awaited opportunities. But the practised king began to build a watch-tower, *Malvoisin*; and, after organising a system of blockade round the almost impregnable castle, passed beyond Humber and subsequently into Wales; while the earl, who foresaw the inevitable issue, secretly, at night, with 30 horsemen, fled. But Newcastle failed to open its gates to Robert Mowbray: the Malvoisin knights pursued him; and, in despair, his little troop shut itself within the monastery of S. Oswin, which for six days it manfully defended, till the Earl, being wounded in the leg, surrendered. Bamborough still held out. William returned. Countess Matilda, looking forth, saw her husband chained; and fearing that his eyes should be thrust out in her sight, gave up the fort.

Flo. Wig. O. Vit. viii. 23.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1095–6.

Morel, making his peace by particular disclosures, underwent banishment: the Count d'Eu, denying guilt, and being vanquished in ordeal of battle, suffered mutilation; William d'Alderi, still asseverating innocence, after a scourging through all the churches of Sarum, passed to the gallows: Robert de Lacy forfeited his estates; W. Malm. Odo de Champagne, Philip de Montgomery, each O. Vit. liberty; Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury, and such as had power in Normandy as well as in England, subjected themselves to fine; others, not named, received grace;—it is suggested, lest too close an enquiry should reveal the dimensions of the malcontents. Robert de Mowbray, bravest of all, endured 30 years' imprisonment in Windsor. For the disaffection had been general. Deservedly. Within half a generation the Iron-age had become as dross. Neither had lawlessness ceased nor had any man's burdens been relieved. The people, distracted by fallacious hopes, the nobles irate under a malign court, the clergy painfully conscious of humiliation; all were swaying, drooping. But at this crisis events occurred which relieved the king of turbulent subjects, and forestalled his dearest hopes. *Deus ex machinâ!*

A.D. 1095. Nov. 18–28. Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1096. O. Vit. ix. 4.

For now a sound, as it were the roll of multitudinous drums, stirred Christendom; and, louder than all storming armies, a blast, as of the Archtrumpet, heralded mankind to war. Like the beacon kindling the hilltop and intelligencing the horizon, that small voice uttered at Clermont, echoed from Messina to Norway, from Byzantium to the British Isles, illumined the spirit, gladdened the heart. Forthwith every man who loved his Christ, every man who valued his own soul, the ambitious, the valiant, yea, the disinherited, the outlaw, the restless, the miserable, hearkened: the lord and the

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1096.

vassal, the priest, the boarder, put on harness, sharpened the sword or the axe, strung the bow or the sling, fixed the pike, nailed the club. Men alienated their fathers' lands, sold their household chattels, their very tools, that they might provide. Castle and hovel, towns and wolds, emptied themselves, that all might rescue the sepulchre of Jesus from the infidel. No incident of universal history is of such magnitude, of such moral grandeur as this: no fiat of king, Cæsar or people, effected so vast a revolution in the world's thought, in the world's work. No inspiration ever met such sympathy in the human breast. In an age enormous in its harshness, polluted by unmanly sensualisms, at once rude and frivolous, there yet lived faith in the Holy One: there yet was possible an incomparable enthusiasm!

O. Vit. ix. 3. Flo. Wig. W. Malm. Alured R. p. 142.

Among the foremost who responded to that call, outfitting as should become him, chivalrous, reckless Robert, oppressed as we have seen, mortgaged his patrimony to Rufus for five years at one-tenth its value. Ten thousand marks in silver—nearly three tons by weight—wrung from church plate of England and hard-saved pence, effected peace between the brothers.

O. Vit. x. 3.

In actual possession of the coveted Normandy, King William now hastened to extend his territories in France. As a means thereto, he renewed that ancient feudal tie—of which we shall hear more hereafter—by which, in consideration of a yearly revenue of 300 marks, silver, the Count of Flanders bound himself and his heirs to certain military service in behalf of England; and, having engaged the Count of Bretagne, through kindred, he prepared to claim Le Mayne. Truly the conqueror had overrun that county more than once; still the title thereto, acknowledged by the

Cf. O. Vit. vii. 10. viii. 5, and ib. iv. 13, and ib. iii. 8.

CHAP. III.

Count of Anjou its suzerain, and by the seigneurs remained in Heribert its last count, and on his death (and his son's death) in his three sisters. To the second of these coheiresses, Margaret, Duke Robert had been betrothed; and albeit she died before marriage, Robert pretended to the inheritance. On the other hand, John de la Flèche had married the third sister, and had purchased the interest of the elder sister in the province. Hélie, son of J. de la Flèche, therefore lawful representative of the Counts of Le Mayne, justly demanded of William 'the peace of God,' whereby those devoted to the Cross lay under protection of Holy Church. "Go whither you please!" said William, "but give up Le Mayne to me. My father held it at his dying day; I also will have it." "But I," answered Hélie, "possess it from my forefathers by inheritance; and, by God's grace, I shall transmit it to my children." The Count, moreover, offered to refer to the peers of France, or to other tribunal; but the king would 'only plead with sword, spear, and sheaves of arrows.' The rejoinder is to be noted, not alone for its high spirit, but because it gives to the first assumption of armorial bearings, a date, earlier, I apprehend, than that commonly received. "I had desired," said Hélie, "to fight against Pagans. I see the enemies of Christ are at hand. For every one who resists right and does injustice is God's foe. Since He has invested me with government of this country, it is my clear duty, primarily, to protect my people. Hearken, ye nobles here present: Heaven inspires me. I will not put aside this Cross which, after the manner of pilgrims, I have put on. Rather, I will place it on my shield, on my helmet, on all my other arms. I will put it on my saddle and on my bridle. My horse and

Died A.D. 1062. O. Vit. x. 7.

O. Vit. viii. 11.

A.D. 1097.

O. Vit. x. 5–7.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1097-8.

I shall be distinguished by that holy sign. Under it will I encounter the breakers of peace and justice, and, sword in hand, will defend this Christian land from such. They who fight against me will fight against a soldier of Christ!" "Go where you will!" repeated William; "do what you will. I make no war against crusaders; but I shall have the city my father took: notwithstanding, lose you no time in repairing its walls and moats, hire your workmen and stone-cutters: I shall send waggon loads of bolts and arrows, and myself come with 100,000 lances before your gates. Le Mans I will have!" Two years, however, elapsed ere William made good this threat. Meantime, Robert de Belésme (Montgomery), now by purchase Earl of Shrewsbury, who possessed in the county of Mayne nine castles and many fortified houses, strengthening each defence, garrisoning each hold at the king's cost, suggested the practicability of Danguiel, a fortress especially obnoxious to his maraudings. And William, sensitive to the touch of daring, inconsiderately advanced. Hélie had hired his masons, had set his territory in array; moreover, he now bade the ban, and his people arose in bosk and thicket, on route and ford and dyke, and repulsed the invaders. But, in the next spring, Hélie, making an incursion on De Belésme, fell into an ambush; and the king, assuming his cause justified by an accident of war, supported by the Norman baronage, by levied troops—French, Burgundians, Flemings, Bretons—at head of 50,000 men, crossed Sarthe. Here, within the doomed county, entreated by Ralf de Beaumont, Geoffrey de Mayenne, Rotrou de Montfort, and several others, through whose seigniories he had need pass, William granted safeguard till he should return victorious. Fulke (Le Rechin) Count of

Feb.

A.D. 1098.

June.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1098.

Anjou, Suzerain Lord of Mayne, hearing of Hélie's imprisonment, now in person reinforced Le Mans; while Paganus de Montdoubleaux conceded the stronghold of Ballon to the king. But the mixed army wasted the land, tore up the vines, trampled the growing crops; and presently, for lack of food, dispersed. William retreated on Normandy. Fulke sate down before Ballon. On a day, certain mendicants who had received alms at his table, told in the fort that the Count of Anjou dined unarmed; and the garrison sallying, captured 140 knights and men-at-arms and many foot soldiers, whom, subsequently, William manumitted on parole. Fulke, having meantime refuged in Le Mans, the nobles of Anjou and of Le Mayne consulted on a form of peace with Normandy. Finally it resulted that, Hélie and all prisoners on either side being released, every castle that had been held by the first William submitted to Rufus. "I have you now, my master!" cried the ruffian, when chivalrous Hélie, unwashed, unshorn, reeking of the dungeon, stood before him. "I have you now, my master!" "Illfortune has put me in your power," responded the Count; "yet, were I free, I well know how to bear myself." At which the flushed king, seizing him, sware, "You! what could you do? Begone! fly! Do what you can or will. And, if you conquer me, by the holy face at Lucca, I shall ask no favour for this act!" It is told that Hélie had fain enter the king's service as a domestic count; that Robert de Meulan (Bellomont), chief counsellor, restrained the royal assent. In the vast interval, what happened and the all of it, who can say? It seems that Hélie spake openly; entertained in honour he might be found faithful: rejected, he would assert his rights. With this last intent,

July.

O. Vit. ut supra.

W. Malm.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1099.

being tauntingly dismissed, he fortified five castles, the poor residue of his patrimony, and nourished his resources. Buoyed up by popular sympathy, he rose next spring, surprised Le Mans, his capital, garrisoned by his enemy; and thereupon stood defiant nobly. A messenger, bringing word of this from De Belésme, met the king—at that hour riding in New Forest. Without a thought, William turned his horse, and, at full speed, reached the coast. "Let us cross the sea, and support our friends!" he cried, stepping 'as a common person' into a crazy bark. "A king cannot be drowned," one said. A motley crew landed at Touques; and the king, mounting the priest's mare, escorted by clerks and folk amidst gaping wonder and loyalties, hurried to Bonneville, soon raised an army, and, by forced marches, entered Le Mayne. Le Mans again lay in ashes. Hélie, in retreat, was burning the country; ensconced at Château du Loir, he awaited his enemy. But the king sate down before Maiet, seven leagues south of Le Mans, and prepared to storm. The soldiers already arming for an assault, some, 'for the glory of God and through respect for our Lord's burial and resurrection,' procured a truce. The besieged, in the interval, had strengthened their defences, and piled wicker baskets against the enemy's bolts and stones. The assailants now filled up the ditch with faggots, bridging over the same with beams, to the very foot of the palisades. Then the garrison threw down vessels of combustibles and lighted brands; and the fire kindled. The king, enraged by failure, standing nigh, one from a turret hurled a stone which crushed the head of a soldier beside him. "There is fresh meat for your king!" shouted many from the walls; "take it to his kitchen." Disturbed in spirit, no doubt

O. Vit. x. 9.

W. Malm. De Gestis R. iv. 1.

Easter, A.D. 1099.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1099–1100.

conscious also of the inefficiency of his arms against a people so resolute, William drew off towards Lucé and disbanded.

But now the red king's ravings ceased. Cæsar returned to dust. Mighty in projects—it is said that he reached at the realm of France—that he threatened to winter in Poictiers—his purposes snapped like a thread; and he fell as brutes fall. Only these acts are chronicled. At Pentecost, holding his court for the first time in the new building at Westminster, he gave the bishopric of Durham to his chaplain and pleas-man, Ranulph Flambard. He held Christmas at Gloucester, Easter at Winchester, Pentecost again at Westminster.

O. Vit. x. 9.

W. Malm.

A.S.Chron. P. & C. E. 6. n. Ro. Wend. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1100.

In Ytené, where he who 'loved the high game as though he were their father,' had planted the oak and the fir, where rank grass throve on the hearth, and fern and briar battened on altar and grave, there, as if in divine retribution, had perished the desolator's second son, Richard, caught by the jaws among branches; Richard, son of Duke Robert, also, his grandson, shot with a bolt; and now, most notable, his favoured son and successor. The manner of the king's death unvouched, conjecture and indifference have united to screen the surroundings from the clear view which history requires. This much alone is certain: having dined at the usual hour of terce—*i.e.* nine A.M., William, possibly affected by wine, attended by his brother Henry, William de Bréteuil, and other nobles familiar, entered the New Forest. At sunset, his body, pierced in the region of the heart by an arrow—the shaft broken—lay on the ground. If any saw, no one confessed to have seen. And, whether death were accidental or contrived, none will ever know. For, in the effort to account for the act, the monks, our chroniclers, shun-

O. Vit. x. 13. May. Aug. 2.

O. Vit. x. 14. W. Malm. R. Hoved. H. Hunt.

Eadmer.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1100.

ning the chase, speculate from the close atmosphere of the cloister. They advance their formula: such a persecutor of the clergy, a king so unroyal, a man so profligate and abominable, could not die but by special doom perceptible to the Church. They recount omens, such as oozings of blood from the earth, dreams of holy men, dreams of the wicked man himself. One, the Saxon annalist, speaks of the king's 'own men'—meaning his barons—as the murderers: but Henry, the brother, and William, the Seneschal of Normandy and hereditary adherent, were of that hunting party. The rest, almost in accord, name Walter Tyrel, a French knight, as the actual homicide; and a later chronicler narrates minutely the secret incidents: the setting sun: William and Tyrel alone: the king shading his eyes with his hand while gazing after a wounded deer: the knight's arrow glancing from a grizly stag to Rufus' heart. He tells of the king's silence, of his breaking the shaft: of Tyrel's awe and flight; adding, 'there was none to pursue. Some connived at his flight: others pitied him: and all were intent on other matters.' To which account is supplied confusion among the people, and an echoing of fearful shouts. Only Tyrel could have related these things. Yet Tyrel credibly averred that he had not been present. A charge is laid against Ralf d'Aix also. The Armourer had presented a sheaf of arrows to the king, which the king had handed to that knight to bear with him into the forest. An arrow from this sheaf lay broken in Rufus' breast. Now the Prior of Dunstaple had dreamed that some one like unto the armourer had presented five arrows to the king; but he had not prevailed to stay William from the chase that day. No quest happened. None had lost a friend. God had vindicated Himself. The evidence is altogether traditionary and fails as against

A.S.Chron.

W. Malm. de Gestis R. iv. 1.

O. Vit. x. 14.

Suger. xii. 12. Eadmer, p. 54. G. Camb. Instr. Princ. c.30.p.176.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1100.

the barons present, against Tyrel, against D'Aix. I find no clue to any conspiracy whatever: no suggestion of particular malice. And it results, in my mind, that the red king died by pure accident or by the hand of some among the many unrecorded who had been personally outraged by him. In either case, the slayer, unperceived or unknown, escaped. The nobles intent on their new prospects, the clergy rejoicing at the event, cared not to examine; and the people—it sufficed them that a more propitious reign had begun.

But the vanity of monks unweetingly assumes to the religious class the part of accessories. Some short time previously, Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, 'in a friendly spirit' admonished the king that one of good repute in his convent had, 'in the visions of the night,' seen the Lord in majesty, throned and circled by the glorious host of heaven and of the saints: that 'in his ecstasy' he had beheld a resplendent virgin kneeling and praying 'to this effect:' "O Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour of mankind, for whom thou didst shed thy precious blood upon the cross, compassionate now thy people groaning under the tyranny of William; Thou, most just judge, vindicate my cause against him, and deliver me from him who, to his utmost, pollutes and afflicts me:" that he had heard the response, "Be ye patient; in a little while ye shall be avenged and redeemed." On the day preceding the king's death, Fulchered, first Abbot of Shrewsbury, 'as it were, filled with a prophetic spirit,' preached pointedly at the 'leprosy' pervading England from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet. "Lust pollutes not only vessels of clay but vessels of gold. Lo! sudden change impends. Libertines shall not bear rule for ever. The Lord is coming to right himself on the enemies of His spouse: He will smite Moab and Edom with the sword,

O. Vit. x. 15.

Cf. A. S. Chron.

O. Vit. x. 14.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1100.

and overthrow the mountains of Gilboa with a dread convulsion. . . The bow of divine wrath is bent on the reprobate: the arrow is drawn from the quiver—even now!" That night, at Lyons, a youth of angelic mien appeared to brother Adam, saying, "Know for certain that the controversy between Anselm and William is decided." Next night, to another brother 'standing with closed eyes singing morning vigils,' was shown in a scroll, "King William is dead." On the day following the king's death, Eadmer, biographer of Anselm, being at Marcigny and in conversation touching William, Hugh Abbot of Clugny said to him, "Last night that king was brought before the final tribunal, and, by deliberate judgment, incurred the sorrowful sentence of damnation."

Aug. 1. J. Saresb. Vita Ans. cap. 11. Cf. Geoff. Gaemar.

W. Malm. iv. 1.

Allowing for inflation in pulpit oratory and for some straining at picturesque effect, prediction and oracle pointed at least in the direction of clerical hopes. But it is to be noted that the sermon and the vision, if not the various dreams, are as well authenticated, and stand or fall on the same critical test, as the surroundings of Rufus' death. We take them on the faith of the chronicler who believed in them, or we leave them in deference to the canons which insist on eye-witnesses, documents, and the like. Historians are apt to reject the transcendental upon all occasions: nevertheless, the student, searching the foundations of history, will perceive the hand of God leading or restraining; and will discover in some humble cloisterer that wise forecast, that brave outspeaking, which is the true characteristic respectively of the seer and of the prophet. From such insight as we have in spiritual affairs, we cannot deny that the end in question might have been known to certain whom it concerned.

CHAP. III.

Country folk shrouded the royal corpse and carted it, as the carcase of a wild boar, bleeding by the way, to Winchester. Monks, townspeople, poor widows, mendicants, met it in formal procession. Few bells tolled. Ecclesiastics pronounced the reprobate unabsolved; and the body, 'attended by many of the nobility, lamented by such only as had lost the patron of their vices,' got buried next morning, not a bedesman praying for the soul.

A.D. 1100. Aug. 2. O. Vit. x. 14. W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, iv. 1. A.S.Chron. Aug. 3.

A man of square form, well set: of florid skin and yellow-red hair: an open brow and eyes of different shades variegated with glittering specks. Though not large and of protuberant belly, of great strength and hardihood: when angered, stammering in speech. At table, among his intimates, loose in talk, free to excess in food and drink. One who railed at his own faults and hoped by a jest to parry shame. In public supercilious, contemptuous; threatening in aspect, apt to assail with coarse language and ferocious voice. 'He feared God but little, man not at all.' Of one virtue, it would seem, self-confidence: of one grace, faith in the honour of knighthood: of one talent, yet without that supplementing genius which could combine his projects. His imagination large, his powers mean. Squandering enormous revenues, he effected no great thing. 'The Hall at Westminster was not half the size he had planned.' His daring great: his spirit how paltry! Some fifty English gentlemen charged with killing venison, having passed the ordeal by fire, "God is no righteous judge," said he, "that would let such go scathless!" He would not put on hosen that had cost three shillings. "How long, you baseborn, has the king worn clothes so cheap? fetch me a pair worth a silver mark at least!"

W. Malm. de Gestis R. iv. 1.

H. Hunt.

Eadmer.

W. Malm.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1100.

Considering the exhausted state of England, the wars in Normandy convict him of rapacity rather than of ambition. Wales and Scotland had been the nobler achievement. But the freebooter mind survived: the Danish heart swelled; and in Rufus the passions of the savage extended in the phase of exceeding sensualism. His appetite, all in all to him, indulged itself to rankness. In progresses, his court rioted: it grasped far and wide, it 'snatched the very morsel from people's mouths:' what his servants could not use they sold by cant, or burnt, or wasted; washing horses' legs in liquor: they were brutal to their hosts, wanton with the wives and daughters of such as housed them: mincing in gait, obscene in manners, walking half-naked. Fires, storms, famines, mark his reign; but greater national evils are due to him who, at the very date of the first crusade,—in that generation which, more than any other, built and endowed the Church—cut off the wholesome streams of piety and learning, and left his country stagnant in spirit, fœtid in morals: who, having Lanfranc and Anselm as his yoke fellows, to the aggravation of every burden on his people, chose Flambard as his minister: who, even in his just quarrel with Anselm, behaved as a tyrant and a fool. His father had chastised the realm with whips, but he beat it with scorpions.

Eadmer, Hist. Nov. 94. Malm.

W. Malm.

At the day of his death, William held to his own use the sees of Canterbury, Winchester, and Sarum, eleven or twelve abbeys. This might account for some hatred borne to his memory; while the terror, the aversion, he inspired, may be signified in the brevity of the chronicles of his day. His wars in Normandy and Mayne are told, the story of the crusade is told: but the history of England under his reign is a fragment.

A.S.Chron. Lib. Eliensis ii. s 140.

HENRY I.

A.D. 1100—1135.

CONTEMPORARY POTENTATES.

Emperors	Popes	Kings of France	Kings of Scotland
HENRY IV. d. 1106.	PASCAL II. d. 1118.	PHILIP I. d. 1108.	EADGAR, d. 1107.
HENRY V. d. 1125.	GELASIUS II. d. 1119.	LOUIS VI.	ALEXANDER, d. 1124.
(Thuringia.)	CALIXTUS II. d. 1124.		DAVID I.
LOTHAIRE.	HONORIUS II. d. 1130.		
	INNOCENT II.		

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE THROUGHOUT.
FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, TILL 1118.
JOHN OF WORCESTER, IN CONTINUATION OF THE ABOVE.
EADMER, TILL 1122.
HENRY OF HUNTINGDON THROUGHOUT.
WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, FROM 1126.
ROBERT DE MONTE, FROM 1128.
ORDERIC VITAL THROUGHOUT.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY I.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1100. Aug. 2. O. Vit. x. 14.

On intimation of his brother's death—without inspection or enquiry, it would seem—Henry spurred to Winchester. Given sunset as his starting time, and the distance—which exceeded twenty miles, crow's flight—about midnight he demanded the keys of the royal hoard. But William de Bréteuil had foreseen the act and the 'deep policy' of it; and following, breathless, the hereditary Seneschal of Normandy—son of that W. Fitzosbern who urged the invasion—peremptorily intervened: "Consider the fealty we have sworn to Duke Robert, your father's eldest son and rightful heir. You, my lord Henry, as well as I, have homaged him: to him, absent or present, our faith is due. He has been long labouring in God's cause, and now God restores him his duchy pledged in that behalf, and with it his father's crown." Words hurtled: threats, defiance surely; nobles and others thronging in, emphasising on either part. Suddenly, drawing his sword, Henry declared no foreigner should hold his father's sceptre.

The facts that Robert lingered on his way from Palestine while Henry stood on the threshold: that the barons who anticipated civil war had already gone homewards, whereas the realm's security lay in a quick choice of its ruler, operated on the moment: but how much personal character weighed—Robert's instabilities against the unknown in Henry: how far pos-

CHAP. I. A.D. 1100.

session of the insignia and of the exchequer availed, we may conceive. It is certain that liberal and gracious promises, such as could not have been hoped from one inheriting indisputably, preceded the election. And, assuredly, to the Britons through their prophecies, to the Saxons through his birth in England and in the purple (*porphyro-genitus*), to the more prudent Normans by his innate royalty and perseverance, Henry seemed designated by Heaven and paternal blessing.

Aug. 3. A.S.Chron.

After Rufus' funeral, the Witan, being at hand, therefore chose Henry to be king; who, having given the see of Winchester to William Giffard the chancellor, forthright rode to London; and on Sunday

Aug. 5.

next, before God and all the people, at the altar at Westminster, vowing that he would abolish the injustice of his brother's time, that he would observe the most equitable of laws established theretofore, received the crown and consecration at the hands of Maurice Bishop of London, and the oaths of fealty due from his lieges. Anselm being abroad, Thomas Archbishop of York at point of death, and the various exigencies of a

P. & C.E.6. Flo. Wig. R. Wend.

doubtful claim, hastened and abated the ceremony; but shortly the prelates, nobles, and sheriffs (as representing the freeholders) assembled on summons, and a charter—evidently covenanted at, if not before, the coronation, and to be taken as parcel obligation of the same—issued to this effect: "Know that, through the mercy of God, and by advice and consent of the barons, I have been crowned king. And whereas this realm has been oppressed with divers injustices, I, to the honour of God, and in the love which I bear to my people, do hereby grant liberty to holy Church. On the death of any prelate, I will neither sell nor

farm his see or abbey, nor accept aught from the possessions thereof, or from the vassals thereof, until entrance of a successor to the deceased. I abolish all evil customs. If any, earls, barons, or others, who hold of me should die, the heir of such shall not redeem his lands as in the days of my father and brother, but shall pay a just relief. And, in like manner, the tenants of my barons shall redeem their lands from their lords. And, if any, holding of me, shall desire to give his daughter, sister, niece or cousin in marriage, he may speak with me thereon. I will not require payment for licence, nor will I restrain him therein, unless he would marry such to my enemy. And, if any, holding of me, die, leaving an heiress, I will give her in marriage, together with her land, according to advice of my barons. If a widow be left childless, she shall enjoy her dower and other rights. I will not give her in second marriage, but on her consent: if she be left with children, she shall possess her dower and other rights so long as she remain chaste; nor shall she be given in marriage without her own consent: and the lands of the children and the persons of the children shall be in custody of such widow, or of some near relative, according to right. And as I, so shall my vassals, act towards the sons or daughters or widows of their tenants. I prohibit the mintage which did not exist in King Eadward's time. If any moneyer or other be found with false coin, he shall be amenable. I remit all fines (*placita*) and all debts owing to my brother; except such as are due on my farms, and except such as may have been contracted for the inheritances of others, or for those things which more justly concern other people's rights. And if anyone shall have stipulated for his inheritance, I absolve him

CHAP. I. A.D. 1100.

from the contract, and I make void all reliefs that have been in covenant for just inheritances. And if any, holding of me, be at point of death, as he shall give or be disposed to give, so shall his grants be sustained: but if he should die intestate, then his wife, or children, or relatives, or vassals legally authorised, shall distribute his money for the good of his soul as to them shall seem best. If any, holding of me, incur a penalty, he shall not be required to give a surety to the amount of all his chattels; but only to the amount of the penalty attaching: but if he be convict, he shall make just compensation. All homicides done previous to the day of my crowning, I pardon. All committed since shall be tried according to the law of King Eadward. By consent of the baronage I retain the forests as my father held them. I concede to all holding by military service, all gelds and gifts to myself; that, being relieved therefrom, they may acquire experience in horses and arms, and be ready for my service and defence of the kingdom. I restore to you the law of King Eadward with such emendations as my father, with consent of his barons, made. And, if any have rapined since my brother's death, let him make full and speedy recompense in peril of atonement with me."

R. Wend. S. Alban's, *e.g.* R. Hagustald. Textus Roff. W. Malm.

From cross and market the glad tidings circled, wave-like, to the utmost shores of England; and a copy of the charter, stored in the principal monastery of each county, gave pledge and historic basis for succeeding liberties. Lights, natural and metaphorical, again shone in the palace. At the voice of the Witan,

Sept. 13. Hoved.

Flambard being cast into the Tower, a solemn embassy invited Anselm to return; and the king announced his will to marry Eadgyth, daughter of Malcolm, late King of Scots, by Margaret, the Ætheling's sister. England's

heart revived. But it happened that the princess, refuging with her aunt, now Abbess of Wilton, had, to escape violence, worn the veil occasionally. The general pulse beat high, notwithstanding. Clerks, women, and the pure in life yearned towards a decorous court; gleemen sang the loves of Goderic and Godithe: only the canonists objected sacrilege in the mundane marriage of Christ's spouse; and foreboded. Anselm came. The righteous prayer of a long-suffering people invoked his blessing. A synod at Lambeth appeased the casuists and public conscience; and, under the name Maude, dear to Normans, the Anglo-Saxon princess became Queen of England; the council, '*majores natu et magnates*,' ratifying.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1100-1101.

Eadmer, pp. 56, 57. R. Wend. Nov. 11.

By this time Duke Robert had arrived in Normandy, having while in Apulia married Sibylla de Conversana, grand niece of Guiscard the Duke, and achieved thereby, it is said, means to redeem his patrimony. Now, considering the treaty on mutual oath of twenty-four barons by which the elder brothers Curthose and Rufus agreed that if either of them should die without lawful issue, the other should be his heir, Robert's claims to the throne of England by primogeniture and by pact were just. It is due to Henry also, to note that, ignoring a settlement which ignored his interests, he appealed to a higher law —the primeval authority of the nation concerned. But that 'deep policy' which had snatched at the horde as a means to forestal election, here met sterner rebuke than 'breathless haste' could minister; and, notwithstanding the genius of his sceptre, Henry's crown bore heavy on his brows. If Robert, selling his honours and his duties, suffered miserably, what other end should await his circumventor?

P. & C.E.6. Sept. A.S.Chron. O. Vit. x. 11. 1101. ante p. 87. Flo. Wig.

It would foster an idle, uncharitable, spirit to antici-

CHAP. I. A.D. 1101.

pate retributions which the long-suffering One delays or remits: we smile at the mere innocent presumption of monks who point to 'judgments;' but, on the broad road of history, as in the tortuous lanes of politics, when public men and commonweal measures stand forth purposely to criticism, *Nemesis*, God's vindication of His sense of right and wrong, is to be perceived from afar. Quickly on the offending, or slowly through generations, in blessing, in cursing, events declare the good deed and the evil deed, and the mixed motive, and the secret thing. The innocent nation prospered under a wise exercise of law; but the time came when its king smiled never again.

O. Vit. x. 16.

Already the Count d'Evreux and the Sieur de Conches had raided the Count of Meulan's territories in Normandy; and, in Le Mayne, valorous Hélie, advantaged by the surroundings, had been accepted

O. Vit. x. 17. W. Malm. A.S.Chron. Feb. 1. O. Vit. x. 18.

Count. Many English barons had exchanged fealty; and the Bishop of Durham, crozier clasped, hand under hand, escaping by a rope, had invited Duke Robert to contest his claims.

W. Malm. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

Reconciled to his magnates, Curthose now rendezvoused at Tréport; while Henry, supported by the brothers Bellomont, Fitz Hamon, De Redvers and Bigod alone among Normans, but by the goodwill of the entire English population, having set the Butscarls to

R. Hoved.

watch the coast, encamped near Hastings or Pevensey. Robert, then, having, through Flambard, bribed the seamen to act as pilots, landed at Portsmouth and

A.S.Chron. July 18.

marched on Winchester. The Anglo-Norman nobles revolted, but bishops and folk loyally stood to arms; and the king himself, marshalling the ranks, shewed

W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, v.

Saxon yeomen how to fend off Norman cavalry. Wise counsels nevertheless prevented civil war; for the first,

and not least beautiful, result of the Crusade led Robert from the city where the queen lay in childbed. The brothers—probably at Hambledown—surrounded by their courts, met, parleyed, kissed; and mediators arranged that either prince should reinstate all who had forfeited in his cause, and that Henry, ceding the Cotentin and all his hereditaments in Normandy (excepting Domfront), and paying yearly to Robert 2,000lbs. in silver, should have quiet possession of the realm. And again twelve barons on each part sware that the survivor of these brothers should be heir to him first dying without lawful issue male. The affair had been critical: the terms were very unequal, and it would seem that that peculiar tenderness, of which we had instance at the siege of Mont St. Michel, rather than Anselm's comminations, effected peace.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1101–2.

O. Vit. x. 18.

R. Wend. R. Hoved. H. Hunt.

Since he remained two months at Henry's court, great part of his army at free quarters without incurring distrust, it is not on Robert that the stigma of disloyalty rests: on the other hand, it is certain that Henry, advised by the Count de Meulan, retracted the pardons vouched: clear that the 'magnificent promises' which preceded reconciliation had been deceptions. We credit the crusader, not the statesman, with the higher sense of honour as well as with the chivalrous feeling.

O. Vit. x. 18.

Robert Malet, Ivo de Grantmesnil, Robert de Lacy, and William de Warrenne, accused severally, and, each multifariously, of former treasons, having incurred sentences of fine, disherison, exile, De Warrenne, with Robert de Belésme (already under similar proceedings) fled to Normandy; where, presently, the latter received at the duke's hands (though in lawful succession) the county of Ponthieu, restoration immediate of his castle

A.D. 1102.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1102.

Argentan, with grant of the bishopric of Séez and the forest of Gouffern; and the former, being a kinsman, a generous promise personally to plead his cause. All which acts on Robert's part Henry pronounced disloyal or intrusive. Policy, not affection, deferred treachery; yet the king let the duke know that on entering the realm unlicensed, he had put himself in peril. This position, carefully dissembled, nevertheless enured to the Earl of Surrey's redintegration. On the other hand much passed in private. Henry grew truculent, Robert paled, and De Meulan worked on the passions of either. The king, it is said, warned the duke to bear himself as an earl at least, not as a monk. The shadows had begun to lengthen. Finally, under doubtful motive—whether of personal fear, not unwarranted as the sequel shews, or of gallantry, for the queen pressed him thereto—Robert remitted that revenue which had been the purchase-money of his claim on England, and gladly accepted a safe conduct from his brother's court.

O. Vit. ix. 18.

It would appear, from the action following, that to the treaty of peace now confirmed were added some promises on the duke's part not to refuge the king's traitors. Bold in battle, Robert would wince under diplomacy. He who charged one to ten at Ascalon—

Ib. xi. 2.

who, among the first, scaled Zion—had been seen to tremble in the palace of Westminster.

Exalted by this incident, and strengthened by adherence of De Warrenne, the king, conscious of power, renewed prosecution of De Belésme. It will give some idea of the condition of law at the time, as well as of the potence of the Anglo-Norman baronage and of the balance of power within the realm, if I relate this case.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1102.

Roger de Montgomery, the Conqueror's wise and loyal adherent, to whom had been granted the castle of Arundel, the city of Chichester, and the earldom of Shrewsbury, left four sons: Robert, called 'De Belésme,' from his chief castle (in Le Mayne), as heir, entered upon all the ancestral hereditaments in Normandy and in Le Mayne: Hugh received his father's earldom, with the several feofs held by his father in England: Roger, named 'the Poitevin' by courtesy from his wife's estates: Arnulph, castellan of Pembroke. Of these last, the one in Lancashire, the other in South Wales, possessed such territories by royal favour that each bore the rank, if not the title, of earl. Upon Hugh's decease, Rufus, regardless of that later experience which had taught the separation of Norman and English honours, having sold the earldom of Shrewsbury to Robert de Belésme, upon whom, as we have seen, the county of Ponthieu recently devolved, this count-earl had become prominent among Anglo-Norman magnates, and, (regarding personal abilities and character) as a subject in either country, dangerous. But the anxiety of feudal princes is apt to take alarm at every aggrandisement of a vassal; and the detestable qualities of De Belésme—the Phalaris of his age—the 'Robert le Diable' of his home traditions—must not be advanced to shade off the deliberate dishonesty practised upon him. Let us hate the memory of that inhuman being who refused all ransoms that he might see his prisoners starve: who invented torture, and took solace according to the pain expressed: who impaled women and men: who called his godson to his arms, and, playfully covering him with his cloak, thrust out the innocent's eyes. Let us do him right: loathe and execrate him—no more. But these abominable

Ante, p. 30.

O. Vit. v. 14.

Ante, p. 93.

O. Vit. ut supra. R. de Rou, 15042–50. H. Hunt. Ep. ad Walt. Gemmet. viii. 35.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1102.

doings weighed not with King Henry, for whom it were sufficient crime to be a possible enemy. This man had done homage and reneged: he had sworn fealty to the duke in Normandy: had preferred Robert's succession to the crown of England: had declared himself and had evinced strength of purpose. Notwithstanding that, by the treaty of Hampton (Hambledown?),

O.Vit. xi. 3.

adherents on both parts received grace, the king (punishing others at intervals) employed a whole year in watching De Belésme; by secret spies, who wrote down informations punctually, collecting evidence embodied in forty-five counts of an indictment. De Belésme, when summoned to plead thereto, claimed the custom of attending trial in person and with his friends; but, on perceiving that he could not clear himself, fled; and, while the king and his barons sate in court awaiting the defence, swift horses were carrying the defendant and his adherents to their strongholds. Judgment '*nisi*' followed, and, after due notice, sentence of outlawry

Spring.

passed. The king then led the whole military array of England against Arundel, the garrison of which, standing to its devoir, after three months' siege, obtained truce that either succour or their lord's license to yield

A. S. C. Flo. Wig.

might decide its part. Having meantime built two forts of wood (Malvoisin-wise), and blocked egress from

O.Vit. x. 7.

the castle, Henry advanced on Blythe in Notts, where a prompt welcome awaited him. Arundel also, when released from fealty, submitted. In the interval, however, the king, referring to the treaty, required the

O.Vit. xi. 3.

duke to prosecute De Belésme's friends in Normandy. Robert, therefore, set up his standard at Vignats; but, slothful, and haply not sanguine in this cause, he procrastinated attack; while the garrison, chary of honour yet loth to fight, stood, arms in hand, upon the wall.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1102.

After a while certain of the Montgomery faction rose in the duke's ranks and set fire to the camp, whereupon, his army dispersing in panic, the besieged brake forth, and again reeving and riot extended through the duchy.

Flo. Wig. R. Hoved.

Henry had by this time sate down before Bridgenorth (Salop). Here, where Æthelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, had in the days of Eadward the Elder her brother built Brycge, Robert de Belésme, pressing men, and working day and night, as at Caroclove in Wales, had built a wide and lofty wall. Here now Roger Fitz Corbet, Robert de Neuville and Welger the huntsman, with eighty stipendiary men-at-arms, together with burgesses and an ordinary garrison, during three summer months, withstood such armament as England and its king could bring to bear. The Bishop of Lincoln (Bloet), also, with a posse, laid siege to Tyckyll (York). De Belésme himself, having by courtesies and largess propitiated the Welsh, had retired on Shrewsbury, while the sons of King Rhys-ap-Tydr, with Arnulph de Montgomery, breaking into Stafford, carried off horses, cattle, men.

At this juncture, the barons, reasoning that, should the king crush this mighty earl, he would surely trample on them also 'as if feeble women,' whereas advantage to the order of peers might accrue to mediators, concurred in middle of the camp to pray a royal clemency for De Belésme. Some Saxon conception of loyalty, if not of the exigencies of the commonweal, excepted to this Anglo-Norman view of the balance of power, however, and 3,000 voices from a hill hard bye shouted amain, "Lord King Henry, trust not these conspirators: lo, we stand with you. Press on this siege; make no peace till you take the traitor dead or alive."

O. Vit. v. 16, 17.

Now one William Pantoul (a pious man whose

CHAP. I. A.D. 1102.

record is in the charters of S. Evroult), subfeudary of De Belésme in Salop and in Normandy, having incurred his lord's aversion, had been disinherited, notwithstanding that, in the matter charged against him, he had purged himself by ordeal of fire. The king, aware, as others, of this knight's valour and experience, had put him in Stafford with 200 men-at-arms; and presently, through him, 'by means of moderate bribes,' detached the fickle Welsh from one who had purchased their adherence more largely. Through Pantoul, also, three principal townsmen of Bridgenorth—threatened with the gallows and cajoled with grants of land—treated of surrender. Having shut up the stipendiaries in an angle of the fortress, these now let in the royal troops and set up the royal ensign. The king forthright marched on Shrewsbury, the castle of which, built on the Conqueror's plan, and almost rounded by Severn, had been strengthened and munitioned by its earl, to the exhaustion of his wealth and of his engineering genius. The road thither lay through a wood and 'evil pass,' obstructed for 1,000 paces by holes and boulder-stones: a pass so narrow, that two men could not ride abreast therein, overshadowed by huge leafy trees, moreover, behind the boles of which archers and ambuscaders plied. But axes cleared the way; and an army of 60,000 infantry—cavalry untold—proclaimed that the day of humiliation, if not of rightwise vengeance, had arrived. And, after vain efforts at some compromise, coming forth, keys in hand, Robert de Belésme knelt at the king's feet, confessing his treasons.

O.Vit. xi. 3. Flo. Wig.

When the stipendiaries at Bridgenorth remonstrated that burgesses and ordinary garrison had made terms, whereas they, standing on the honour of their order, had liefer fall than betray the cause in hand, Henry

admiring their carriage—with some reference, perhaps, to the usage of warfare in that respect—granted them to march out horse and arms. Now that an arch traitor, surrendering 'at discretion,' fell into his hands, he allowed him, likewise, the honours of war; adding, as had been expedient, a safe conduct to the coast. Yet was there no magnanimity in the rebel: nor any generosity in the king. It had been wise and just, if ever traitor merited death, to bring this Earl of Shrewsbury to the block. But that 'deep policy' which would seize all England in the coffers at Winchester, foresaw that, through the Count de Belésme's liberty, the dear Normandy would lie ready to his hand. And the strict form of abjuration of the realm was, in this case, qualified accordingly. Here, however, a people unrevengeful and not far-seeing, clamoured not for blood; rather tumultuously gratulated: "Rejoice, King Henry: give thanks to God: now you begin to reign." CHAP. I. A.D. 1102. W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, v.

Shortly, on 'vigilant inquiries' and by 'favourable opportunities,' Roger and Arnulph forfeited their all: 'within thirty days' Arundel, Blythe, Tyckyll, Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, Caroclove, and all other castles standing out on De Belésme's part, surrendered, and the mighty house of Montgomery ceased from among the Anglo-Norman baronage of England.

In the latter part of this year, King Henry, giving the queen's sister Mary in marriage to Eustace, Count of Boulogne—son of that Eustace who had twice attempted Dover—strengthened his interests abroad, and prepared a generation of anarchy for this realm. H. Hunt.

But incidents of import in the ecclesiastical department intervene. Holding court at Westminster, 'prelates' and '*primates regni*' present, the king invested Sept. 29. P.&C.E. 7.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1102–3. Roger his Chancellor, of whom we shall learn much more hereafter, with the see of Sarum, and Roger 'the larderer' with the see of Hereford. At a synod immediately sequent, the king, sitting with the two archbishops and (including those above-named) twelve bishops, took account of several abbots, French and English, 'who, having acquired their benefices by means contrary to God's law, now lost the same by sentence conformable to His will:' some, possibly, had purchased from Rufus or from patron barons: others, it is stated, 'lived disreputably.' I cannot discriminate these. Certainly Guy of Pershore, Aldwyn of Ramsey, Haimon of Cerne or Cerneley, Æthelric of Middleton, Godric of Peterborough, Richard of Ely, Robert of S. Edmunds, Bodric of Bourgh (Shrewsbury), and the abbots of Tavistock and of Michelney were displaced.

H. Hunt. R. Wend. R. Hoved.

1103. In furtherance of the specially sovereign policy—and that only is sovereign which is of God or pretends to be of God—Anselm now provisionally excommunicated all married priests; condemning them to put away their wives, and, under harsh terms, branding the connection. 'Some,' says an archdeacon, himself a clerk's son, 'thought this movement would promote purity; others saw danger in obliging men beyond their strength.' Truly an exigent and unjust straining of obedience; for, albeit monks vowed celibacy by their own free will, the 'secular clergy' had theretofore 'not been forbidden' to marry. But the true object of the canon explains itself in that earnest desire of Pontiffs to separate ministers of religion from human affections and from lay interests, which would reticulate the parochial clergy and draw in all cords to Rome, whence the chief fisherman, like the Galilean he claims to follow, might make merchandise of souls.

H. Hunt.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1103.

Disputes reviving on the right to 'invest' prelates, Anselm, who had refused to homage, now refused to consecrate the bishops 'designate.' Henry, thereupon, called on the Metropolitan of York to perform that office. Whether Gerard would have consecrated the unscrupulous 'Roger' to Sarum is not clear: on the other hand, Roger, the larderer, dying, Reignelm, queen's chancellor, named to the see of Hereford, refused his staff, and William (Giffard)—elect to Winchester more than a year since—rejected 'an ordinance at unlawful hands.' The matter reaching this pass, Henry suffered Anselm to present his cause at the apostle's feet; who, taking with him William, elect of Winchester, and the deposed abbots Richard of Ely and Aldwyn of Ramsey, set out for Rome; the king, on his part, sending William de Warewast, his clerk and proctor, to enforce the opposite view. Bravely, 'even in a threatening vein,' this emissary expostulating, his Holiness replied, "If, as you say, 'the King of England would never resign his right, even were he to lose his kingdom,' neither would I, to save my life, let him keep it." In this state, therefore, the quarrel paused. Anselm, nevertheless, entreating in behalf of the bishops and abbots elect 'dispensation to receive their lost dignities,' 'holy see'—it is a churchman who writes—'which is never averse when anything of a white or of a red colour passes between parties,' condoned; and Pascal 'mercifully restored, the said bishops and abbots, who returned rejoicing,' accepted investiture from the king, and were consecrated some time later.

Eadmer, Hist. Nov. ii. p. 53.

Flo. Wig. April 27.

Cf. Lib. Eliensis, ss. 142, 143.

Eadmer, *ut supra*, p. 63.

R. Wend.

Prognostics of storms, of fires, of blood fountains, of haloes round the sun, of royal exactions 'too hard to describe,' close the eventful year.

A.S.Chron. &c.

CHAPTER II.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1104.

FROM the date of the first William's death to the time we have attained, there had been neither peace nor order in Normandy. Duke Robert's easy yet impulsive temper soon brought him under contempt; who, careless of dignity, suffered diminution of his prerogative, incapable of ruling, had exampled violence. And the magnates dared his fitful authority. Everywhere, throughout the once cheerful duchy, waged those private wars, which, far more than invading armies, demoralise a state and oppress a people. In fact, the province opened itself to intrusion. Philip of France held feofs therein—chiefly on the Breton frontier: but various accidents had restrained the suzerain's action in the premises. Rufus, as we have seen, by intrigue and by arms possessing some twenty castles, had supported a faction; and Henry, Lord of Domfront, on purchasing the Cotentin, had made good his footing. Farther, Le Mayne, which the Conqueror and Rufus had fain treat as integral of their dominion, had detached itself. And, albeit the mortgage of Normandy and the duke's crusade pending the same had given pause to anarchy and to encroachments, yet the return of Robert and his redintegration operated to revive all local passions, and to awaken in the present King of England a persistent purpose of subjecting the home of his fathers to his crown. Later events—the exhibition of Robert's imbecility in politics and his undisguised

Ante, p. 107.

Ante, p. 128.

awe of Henry and of Henry's counsellor, De Meulan: the destruction of his Anglo-Norman adherents in the rebellion just quelled: and, beyond these, the defection of the Norman population, renewed on decease of Duchess Sibylla—that mainstay of public faith and sentiment, as of her husband's character—all severally pointed to the goal; and now, through expulsion of the Montgomeries, the prize came full in view. CHAP. II. A.D. 1104.

Robert de Belésme held thirty-four strong castles in Normandy and Le Mayne: he had given no part of his inheritance to those brothers who, through him, had forfeited their English honours. He, a capable foe, inspiring terror, had learned to misdoubt all: embittered in spirit, profuse in the means of attaching partisans, he quickly fermented Normandy from end to end. Of vast resources in mind as in wealth, he gat together freebooters, munitioned forts, planned raids, and carried the horrible details of agrarian outrage into every homestead. Robberies, murders, arsons, and dread of the like, wearied imagination; and folk fled to their village church, as to a mother's bosom, that they might die therein. Normans avenged themselves on Normans; and the outrages of the father Danes gat parallel in their sons' atrocities. Roger de Montgomery retired to Charroux, and Arnulph, after a brief fidelity, under vexation bringing over many adherents of the family, ceded the castle of Almenèches to Duke Robert. A.D. 1103. O.Vit. xi. 3.

Considering the aptitude of his seigneurs in rancours and revolts, the duke's own temperament and his maimed puissance, also the undersway of intrigue which bare him unwittingly: considering the subtlety of those with whom he had to deal, Robert's attitude, if not heroic, insures our sympathy. A man of tender—in such

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1103–4.

days it might be said of maudlin—sensibilities, rash in courage, indeed, impetuous yet indolent, sensual, withal frank and guileless, he stood for three years the brunt of lawlessness within his territories and the pressure of more dire artifices from without.'

At Almenèches, then, stabling his horses in the convent, Robert rallied such forces as he could. 'Normandy rose in arms: yet a general league failed to suppress De Belésme;' who, coming suddenly, burnt the building and mutilated every captive. The duke marched on Hiesmes, the neighbourhood rejoicing: there, also, De Belésme, falling on him, by dint of false attacks, dispersed his army and took, with others, William de Conversana, the duke's brother-in-law and principal adviser. Rebellion triumphed: and cruelty. Through very fear, men who hated him adhered to the traitor. Hiesmes fell to him: Gunter too. It must have been at this moment that the Duke amnestied De Belésme. The surroundings, at least, give hint of abeyance on either part.

O.Vit. xi. 7. A.S.Chron.

But presently a more effective ground of quarrel arose between the king and the duke. William, Earl of Cornwall (son of Robert de Mortagne and nephew in half-blood of the Conqueror), 'a man of character, consummate in counsel and energetic,' being disseised in England by reason that he had claimed the earldom of Kent as heir of his uncle Bishop Odo, harboured in Mortagne, his county, and consorted with De Belésme. He, avenging himself on the king's vassals, Henry, as it were to protect them, sent Fitz Hamon and certain knights armed; and those knights, on being caught banded with marauders, now lay under enormous ransoms. In King Henry's mind, the duke's pact with De Belésme extended itself by implication to patronage of

H. Hunt. Flo. Wig.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1104-5.

the outlaw William. Thereupon—or as some pictured, urged by the plaints of refugees—heralding himself by gold and silver, Henry landed at Barfleur. Forthwith the Norman barons and clergy shifted fealty.

O. Vit. xi. 10. Lent. A.S.Chron. R. Hoved. O. Vit. xi. 11.

After hearkening to a tedious tirade by the Bishop of Séez,—wherefrom we learn, parenthetically, that Duke Robert ofttimes fasted till the third hour after noon from lack of bread, and lay a-bed for want of clothes, being, while snoring drunk, pleasantly robbed by buffoons and harlots; that he did not frequent church even on Sundays: that the wearing of long hair then in vogue had been predicted under figure of locusts in the Apocalypse, and that in these evil days men would not shave lest their bristles should prick ladies' faces; that the king, 'inflamed with ardour,' or simulating so to be, submitted his locks and beard to episcopal scissors then and there, the Count de Meulan next, and all courtiers vieing in the new design—Henry proceeded pompously to Domfront, visited other castles recently and contrary to treaty achieved by him, drew to his standard the Anglo-Norman nobles Richard Earl of Chester and the Counts Robert de Meulan, Stephen d'Aumale, Henry d'Eu, Rotrou de Perche, Eustace de Boulogne and the sieurs Ralf de Conches, Ro. de Montfort and Ralf de Mortimer with their vassals; avowing that he came to succour the suffering church, to raise the people trodden under foot of perjurers and domineerers, and to assert his right to the inheritance of his fathers. And, having charged misgovernment of the duchy and an abetting of traitors on his brother, haughtily summoned the duke to answer—as it were in a suzerain's court. Meantime, with consent of the Counts of Anjou and Bretagne, having garrisoned the frontiers, the king sate down before Bayeux. One Gunhier d'Aunay

CHAP. II.

defending, Hélie Count of Mayne attacking, here Ra. d'Argouges in the Duke's behalf slew in single combat the king's knight De Brun. Henry himself assaulted. And the city mourned the day in ashes; its cathedral, its sanctuaries, steaming with its children's blood. Caen then opened her gates; for the king gave Darlington in Durham—the traitor's village, as men called it thereafter—to the four principal burgesses. After Easter, sending envoys to the King of France and beckoning Geoffrey Martel Count of Anjou, Henry threatened Falaise. Skirmishing commenced, and a brave knight, Roger of Gloucester, in a passage of arms then and there received his death wound. But now the brothers met at Cinteaux in that neighbourhood. Henry upbraided, and Robert, condescending to excuses, again succumbed to craft. 'Advised' by those at hand, he ceded his suzerainty over the count and county of Evreux, and thus, in monkish phrase, put himself between two millstones. To be 'bartered like horse or ox,' brought no shame: "I have served your father faithfully," Count William said: "I have observed fealty to his heir. I love both the king and the duke: but I cannot serve two masters." The duke accordingly placed the count's hands within the king's hands. Robert had hoped to soothe a brother's pride: but Henry turned homeward in another mood.

Roman de Rou, 16042 sq. O. Vit. xi. 17.

A.D. 1105.

May 28.

O. Vit. xi. 17. Cf. ib. c. 17.

Aug.

Before Christmas Robert de Belésme came to the king at Westminster; and, during that festival, 'departed in enmity.' Soon afterwards Duke Robert met the king at Northampton, 'amicably;' but, 'being unaccommodated in the matter at issue, he also returned passioning.' Our knowledge is limited to these facts. But the latent mitigation of De Belésme's banishment is suggestive; and the breach of the 'fraternal bond' at

A.D. 1105–6.

A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig.

Ante, p. 135. R. Wend.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1105-6.

this time is notable; and, when taken with the military preparation now on foot, clears and extends our view. I put these points, then, on historic inference: that Henry invited De Belésme to forsake the duke, but declined the terms which De Belésme demanded in that behalf; and that Henry refused as insufficient whatever concessions Robert may have offered for peace' sake.

A.S.Chron.

During the past two years taxes had not ceased in England, nor oppression. 'Wherever the king went his train plundered, as in Rufus' days; burnings, homicides prevailed; the fruits of the earth, also, failed; and, before the king went abroad, while he stayed there, and after his return, distress aggravated distress.'

A.D. 1106. Ascension.

P. & C.E. 7.

The necessity of tranquillising the people and of gaining over the baronage to sanction farther imposts, manifests itself in a 'renewal of the charters,' and a public consent of the council to the reduction of Normandy. And the king, equipping to that end, led forth his forces. If strategy drew him to Domfront, his animosities mustered before Tinchebrai. In engineering formula, entrenching over against De Mortagne's stronghold, he built his fort '*Malvoisin*;' and, to check sallies, set horse and foot therein; William munitioning freely the while, and with admired skill convoying forage and all necessaries to the gates.

Before Aug. A.S.Chron. O. Vit. xi. 20.

This, be it observed, was, as yet, a private war between two feudal vassals of the Duke of Normandy, to whom both Henry (if not as Lord of Domfront, then) as tenant of the Cotentin, and William as Count of Mortagne, owed fealty. And, when the royal force augmented, drew closer and prepared to attack, De Mortagne, under the eventualities incident to homage, claimed his suzerain's aid, and called De Belésme, as a kinsman, to the rescue.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1106. O. Vital. xi. 19.

In the interval, it would seem, a certain abbot having arranged with the duke to betray the king, who then lay at Caen, entered the presence in friendly vein, and said to Henry: "If you will come with me, I will put my fortress on the Dive into your hands; there is no need of your army: indeed, the noise and publicity of troops might be inconvenient: my garrison is small, but entirely devoted." Henry, therefore, rose by night, and rode till daybreak; warily escorted by 700 horsemen. But Reignold, brother of the Count de Warrenne, and Robert d'Estoteville the younger, had enforced that small garrison of 140 men-at-arms; and, from the walls of Dive, taunted and defied the chary king; while, in the rear, a mixed company from Falaise and neighbour castles harassed him. Disappointment, insult, irritating to instant assault, in the fury, fortress and monastery caught fire. The scorched knights within, Reignold and Robert, with many men, gave up their arms, and such as refuged in the church tower were burnt. The royalists drave the fugitives as far as Falaise; and the Abbot of Dive, 'who, to the treachery of Iscariot added the sin of Simon Magus,' being thrown like a sack upon a horse, hardly saved his limbs, by reason of his frock, to die presently in a brawl. For all which the stratagem pertained to the art of war; and, if successful, had received applause.

There stood on the part of King Henry the Counts Hélie of Le Mayne, William of Evreux, Robert (de Bellomont) of Meulan, William of Warrenne, Ranulph (de Meschines) Viscount of Bayeux, the sieurs Ranulph of Conches, Robert of Montfort, Robert of Grantmesnil, and other Anglo-Norman lords: with Duke Robert, who had pitched at Falaise, the Counts Robert of

Belésme, William of Mortagne, and the Barons Robert of Estoteville (the elder), Robert of Ferrers, and William Crispin. CHAP. II. A.D. 1106.

The duke approached Tinchebrai. In opposite hosts, brothers and kinsmen arrayed. Local family feuds innumerable might be recalled—those of the Bréteuils, the Rocheforts, the Gournays, the Montforts. Beyond these, the rebellion of Robert against his father, the warrings of Rufus with Robert; and passion rose perhaps the higher at this day, since, from the persistency of Henry and his resources, the reticence of his character, and the vindictiveness of it, thoughts of victory or of doom affected the imagination generally. Not in raid, not in ransom, not in any vulgar spite or vulgar greed, lay this quarrel and the issue of it. A nation was staking its life: a king, divinely urged, stood armed to domineer. Religious men pervaded either camp, slaking wrath as they might; and, on suggestion of single combat between the brothers, one venerable Vitalis, a hermit, interdicted, 'lest the tragedy of Œdipus, the horror of all ages, should be re-enacted here, and the dread curse on Eteocles and Polynices should be justly theirs.' Nature authenticates the story. Robert, indeed, would not shed his sire's blood; even Rufus dared not starve Henry. But Henry, 'no soldier, but a statesman born,' would avoid the encounter only to overcome by craft. It is scarcely credible that his missive to Robert, as reported, should be genuine: for, though it harmonise with his pretensions, reiterate his complaints; though it propose a scheme similar to that by which the duke so readily gave up his claim on England's crown, it is discordant with the fact of the armament then surrounding him, and with the record of the council at home which promoted it. O. Vit. xi. 20.

CHAP. II. A.D. 1106.

Henry abjured ambition, covetousness; arrogated a duty to avenge the church and the poor; and, after contrasting Robert's inefficiency with his own zeal, concluded: "Cede to me all the strongholds, with entire administration of affairs in Normandy, together with one moiety of the duchy: reserve to yourself, without any care of state, the revenues of the other moiety, to which I will mete a sum equivalent to the revenues of the moiety you cede to me;" adding, with compatible bluntness, "Then you may revel in feasts and sports and your delights, while I, submitting to the toils of government, by God's help, bridle the fury of oppressors."

If, indeed, the duke were altogether such as monks describe, there had been need of 'violent protestations' on his adherents' part to deter him from a so base compliance: but prejudice affected Robert on another score than that of immoralities or inaptness. When solemnising Easter at Jerusalem and expecting a descent of the sacred fire, Robert's taper had been miraculously lighted, and, according to popular belief—but, whether in just modesty or through contempt, none cared to ask—he, a king's son and foremost rescuer of the sepulchre, had declined the glorious and holy crown thus proffered. And the whole body of clergy—especially the Normans, who were pained thereby—regarding him as apostate, looked for signal judgments. Lust and political enervation notwithstanding, the valour, and, for aught we know, the honour, of Duke Robert stood *sans reproche*.

R. Nigri. Chron. II. p. 87.

On clear rejection of such terms as may have been demanded, King Henry, commending himself and praying that victory might declare God's will, having released those prisoners taken at Dive and vowed to

O. Vit. xi. 20.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1106.

rebuild the church therein, lest ill-will or a charge of sacrilege should attach, marshalled his army. Ralf of Bayeux in the van, Robert de Meulan commanding in the second, William de Warrenne in the third, battalion, himself with the English and Norman infantry in rear, and a reserve, under Count Hélie, of Mancel and Breton mercenaries. The ducal force advanced in three divisions—Robert in the main battle, with William de Mortagne in front and Robert de Belésme behind—weaker in knights, but with foot soldiers in fuller ranks. The princes and others on either part dismounted, in proof of purpose. Shrill trumpets sounded: and, on the instant, the vans of each host, charging the other, locked weapons. Robert's trained crusaders, in a fierce onset, repulsed the royal bands; and De Mortagne, attacking from point to point, thrust their thronging masses into rout. Cries and shouts announced a crisis, when Hélie, with his horsemen, bore down on the flank; and, shock on shock, brake up the Norman corps. In the mêlée, De Belésme fled; but the duke fell into the hands of Gaudri, the king's chaplain, and William de Mortagne surrendered to the Breton knights, and Robert d'Estoteville (the father) and Ferrers and Crispin and many more gave up their swords; and among the prisoners was found the Ætheling of England, Eadgar. 'Exactly forty years from the day of the battle of Senlac; and, doubtless, by wise dispensation, the Normans who subjugated England were subjugated by the English.'

Sept. 28. A.S. Chron.

H. Hunt.

O. Vit. ut supra.

A.S. Chron.

W. Malm.

It is said that Robert, on just suspicion of De Belésme, advised the king to secure Falaise; and, because by agreement with the castellan of that fortress none but De Ferrers should receive surrender of it, prompted Henry to instruct that knight accordingly: that the

O. Vit. ut supra.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1106-7.

king, nevertheless, leading the duke in a friendly manner, but with due caution, to the walls, required Robert's personal command in that behalf. The garrison submitted, howsoever, and the burgesses swore fealty to King Henry. And duke Robert's only son by Sibylla the beautiful and all-beloved, William the Clito, who had been brought up there, came forth amazed, trembling in presence of his uncle. Presently Rouen, and, one after another, all the castles in Normandy accepted Henry as their prince, and all the Norman nobles did him homage. 'So the Lord took vengeance on Duke Robert, because, when He had exalted him to great glory in the holy wars, he rejected the kingdom of Jerusalem.' Baldwin of Boulogne, also, would not bear the diadem in that city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns: but the clergy perceived some difference in the men—possibly in the ground of declension.

H. Hunt.

Henry had reached the goal. He held the prize for which, casting off brotherly love, honour, truth, he had strained the loyalty of his people. 'A very terrible and sinful war between the emperor and his son'—a war in which the papal court had interest—offended Christendom this year. Yet our partial chroniclers would fain justify a brother as God's instrument to chastise a brother. With a wider ken, we perceive the gross hypocrisy: we cannot extenuate the crime. The Conqueror's prediction verified itself. Invested with the duchy by the suzerain King of France, Henry possessed all his father's territories. He released the Ætheling as one incapable of mischief any more; and Eadgar retired to some unremembered nook in England, there to reach old age in peace. Henry sent Robert back to Falaise for a while; but early next

A.S.Chron.

Suger, in Vitâ Ludo. Gr. I. p. 28. W. Malm. De Gestis Regum, v.

year transmitted him to Cardiff—as it were to an oasis in the wilderness; where, for twenty-eight years, 'amply supplied with luxuries,' but inactive, forlorn, the wild crusader wore out life. William Count of Mortagne, Robert d'Estoteville the elder, with several others, passed from Norman dungeon to perpetual imprisonment in England. Inflexible to entreaties, promises, gifts, Henry would not mollify his resentments in the least: rather, it is said, he added chains and darkness to the miseries of exclusion from human intercourse. Clemency, so called, we find in other quarters. Ranulf Flambard, resigning his ridiculous claims on the bishopric of Lisieux—he held it as provost for his infant son—returned to his see of Durham. And Robert de Belésme, though standing out and enticing Count Hélie to secede, secured his castle Argentan, the viscountcy of Falaise, and whatever domains had belonged to his father. History is silent on the motive in either case. Himself an expert, Henry had no need of a financier who 'turned the daily chants to lamentations:' neither could he, temperate, judicious, Beauclerk, favourably regard the priest, 'handsome in person, fluent in speech, fond of the table, of the cup, of the bed,' whose 'arrogance swelled by the losses he inflicted.' A wise king, bent on levelling his magnates to the law, dared not exalt the main disturber of public peace: a 'stern requiter of injuries, constant in his enmities,' knew not to pardon so inveterate a foe. We may not believe this grace towards Flambard and De Belésme—as we might conceive it in the Ætheling's case—to have been the result of a sense of security, of power, so long as Mortagne, the king's cousin, lay in the Tower, nor at all an 'indulgence of royal magnanimity,' since, in

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1107.

Flo. Wig. O. Vit. xi. 23. A.S.Chron. O. Vit. xi. 21.

O. Vit. xi. 18.

Ib. xi. 31.

Ib. xi. 22.

R. de Monte, col. 428. Ann. Waverley, fo. 70 b. W. Malm. ut supra,

CHAP. II. A.D. 1107.

the treatment of his only brother, and of that brother's son, the Clito, jealousy, spite, and the baser passions of an uncharitable heart would rebut that plea. Haply, the lamp shining on future actions may cast back some light upon this secret passage.

H. Hunt. O. Vit. xi. 23.

Having reduced his enemies, and razed all unlicensed castles, Henry governed the duchy 'at his pleasure'—'with a firm hand.' That he favoured monks and the decora of life is certain: that he farthered the weal of the lesser people might be, since the marauding spirit of Rufus', and of his own, partisans, now lacked countenance and object: but that the baronage —the nerve at least of a feudal country—fretted under his tyranny, is evident in the banishment of the Marshal de Montfort and in the confiscation of the county of Evreux; in the support rendered by Normans to the King of France in all subsequent wars; in the alliances of the seigneurs with the interests of the house of Anjou; in continuous faction, revolts, sieges, battles. Of the next three years, notwithstanding the manifold necessities of his kingdom, the king spent but twelve months in England. Through a decade following, he resided seven and a half years in Normandy; not once crossing sea during four years and nine months.

A.S.Chron. 1107-9. A.D. 1111-20.

It will be remembered that all authority in the county of Le Mayne assumed by the first and second William had been gotten by force and held by tort—no investiture had been demanded of the suzerain: that, in the interval between Rufus' decease and Robert's cession of claim on England, the Mancels had reinstated their lawful governor. Certain it is, however, that in these recent wars Count Hélie actively supported Henry; and, it would appear, less in character of an ally than as a stipendiary. But the terms

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1110.

are still unknown; and the relation, not exactly stated, has been misunderstood to indicate some form of feudal tie as between lord and vassal; whereas, as is clear from the sequel, no stricter pact could have existed between Henry and the Count of Le Mayne than that patent contract between Henry and the Count of Flanders—*viz.* a personal covenant to bear arms, based on money payment. Absolutely, on Hélie's death, the obligation, whatsoever, ceased. And when Erembergh, Hélie's heiress, married Fulke, and Fulke inherited Anjou, they and their issue became legally seized of the county of Mayne, in benefice and in reversion; the one estate incorporate in the other. But one contemporary chronicle opens another, and surely the popular, though erroneous, view of the position; recording that the Count of Anjou took possession of the province and kept it against King Henry's will. And somewhat later writers affirm the same, adding, in connection with the disherison of Philip de Braose, William Malet, William Baynard, and other Anglo-Norman magnates, traitors, that Count Hélie was put to death by King Henry. Now the only inference to be drawn from such rumour is the complicity, real or imputed, of the Count Le Mayne with the above-named in some treason; and a judicial act on Henry's part lawfully avenging the same. The 'very confidential intercourse maintained between the king and the count' warrants less than Hélie's honour warrants; but since Henry had no suzerain authority over the county, he could have held no court in the cause. No legal fault, beyond breach of the arms-and-money contract, could have attached to Hélie; and a capital sentence procured by Henry would have been sheer murder. But, truth to tell, our king's pretensions

Cf. Fœdera, i. p. 23. July 11. O. Vit. x. 17.

A.S. Chron. A.D. 1110–11.

H. Hunt. R. Wend.

O. Vit. xi. 22.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1110-11.

to the territory in question had been less than those of the Conqueror or of Rufus. Henry could only claim as representing Robert, and Robert had claimed by reason of his betrothal to a coheiress deceased. In justification of Henry's claim, a mis-statement of the relation between him and the Count of Le Mayne was calculated to prejudice the rights of the house of Anjou, which the Norman writers desired to prejudice. But the facts, in their entirety, are not in evidence; and the stigma, unwittingly cast by the royal panegyrists on king and count, takes colour, if not form, from after acts.

Mutualities with France, also, had undergone change. In the first year of this reign, when Prince Louis visited the English court, his step-mother, Bertrade (the repudiated Countess of Anjou), welcomed that opportunity of destroying him; and a letter, 'which the king, being a scholar, himself read,' intimated under royal seal the French king's will that his son should be closely and perpetually immured. The heinousness—not to say political folly—of this suggestion operated to disclose it; but the hospitality afforded on a time to the prince, failed to extenuate the later insult of encroachments on the realm of France; and, when to 'carnal plethoric Philip,' 'earnest plethoric Louis' succeeded, Henry discovered that his ambition to extend Normandy would be limited by the suzerain.

O. Vit. xi. 9.

A.D. 1108. Aug. 3. H. Hunt. Ep. ad Gualt.

A.D. 1108-9.

King Louis having espoused, but not consummated with, the heiress apparent of Rochefort (albeit the marriage had been canonically dissolved in the preceding year), entered that county in arms, and laid siege to its principal castles. Then, and in the next year, impotent against the confederate seigneurs, he yet drave back Henry, Norman and English, from the Epte; and, in a series of intermittent campaigns, which

Concil. Troyes.

Suger. 36. O. Vit. xi. 36. Ib. 45. Ib. xii. 1, 4, 5, 12, 17, 18, 19.

CHAP. II.

I shall refer to in detail, secured his frontier. One consolation happened. Robert de Belésme, coming on a mission from King Louis, fell into King Henry's power. Arraigned on charges that, having been thrice summoned, he had not appeared: that he had not made the due returns as Viscount of Falaise, nor accounted for the revenues of Argentan and Hiesmes, this enemy-ally, whose career of treacheries and cruelties had perturbed his country and advanced the usurper's cause, on formal prosecution received sentence. From prison in Cherbourg to the dungeon—Carisbrook or Wareham, it matters not—he passed in silence, 'the people of God rejoicing;' and 'of him whose evil fame had spread everywhere,' whose memory is accursed in every chronicle, 'no one, after this date, knew whether he were alive or dead.'

A.D. 1112–13. O. Vit. x. 44. Nov. 4, 1112. A.D. 1113. Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron. Hoved. H. H. Ep. ad Gualt.

But cares more anxious than oncome of opposing armies, graver than the levy en masse of the border French, pressed Henry. The persistent aversion of the Norman seigneurs: the treasons at home: at least one secret attempt on his life: and, as a climax, the protection afforded by the Count of Anjou to all revolters, and particularly to the Clito, rightful Duke of Normandy. King of England, with the 'three gifts, wisdom, victory, wealth,' and *de facto* holding the duchy in strict feudal tenure, Henry changed his bed by times, increased his guards, and kept shield and sword at hand. Nor yet was *Nemesis* appeased.

W. Malm. v. H. Hunt. R. Wend. Suger. Vit. Lud.

CHAPTER III.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1106. Aug. 15. Flo. Wig. Cf. J. Saresb. Vita Ans. cap. 14.

A.D. 1107. Aug. 1. P. & C. E. 7. Flo. Wig.

Conc. Lat. 1112. R. Wend.

At Bec,—six weeks before the battle of Tinchebrai—the King and Anselm 'came to terms on all their differences.' And the archbishop returned to Canterbury.

A convention—a synod of bishops and barons '*optimates et proceres*'—which had been deferred from Easter to Whitsuntide, and again to this date, because of the primate's sickness, re-opened the vexed matter of investitures. During the first three days, (Anselm absenting himself) certain prelates freely commended to Henry that practice of his father and brother which, in the interest of national independence, disregarded the claim of Holy see. But it is quite clear that the question had already been decided secretly; for, when Anselm took his seat, the king, publicly and without argument, surrendered his prerogative. And the decree passed that, thenceforth, 'in England, none should be invested in bishopric or abbey, by staff or ring, at the hand of the king or of any layman;' it being conceded, on the Pope's part, that if any clerk were elected to the prelacy, he should not be refused consecration on the ground of homage done by him for the incident temporalities. Gerard, Archbishop of York, then placing his hand between Anselm's hands, solemnly vowed to him and his successors submission and obedience; and the several bishops elect from time to time, *viz.* William (Giffard) of Winchester, Roger of Sarum, Reignelm of Hereford,

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1107-8. Aug. 11.

William of Exeter, and Urban of Llandaff, received at Canterbury consecration by the two archbishops and the six suffragans, *viz.* Robert (Bloet) of Lincoln, John of Bath, Herbert (Losing) of Norwich, Robert of Chester, Ralf of Chichester and Ranulf (Flambard) of Durham. Since Plegmund's day, in the reign of Eadward the Elder, no such sudden access to the episcopate had been witnessed. Some changes happened soon: Maurice, Bishop of London, dying, Richard, formerly clerk of Robert de Belésme, succeeded. On decease of Gundulph, Anselm, availing himself of the king's mood to re-assert an ancient claim of the primatial see over the particular suffragan see, gave Rochester to Ralf d'Escures, the cheerful and facete abbot of Séez. And shortly the king's clerk Thomas, cousin of his predecessor Thomas, followed Gerard in the metropolitan chair of York.

Ann. Wint. fo. 26.

Aug. 11. O. Vit. xi. 7.

A.D. 1108.

In the flush of priestly triumph, the prelates, now with the king's consent, re-enacted the Roman laws of secular celibacy. Such as 'without reverence for God's altar and holy orders would live with women,' thenceforth subjected themselves to exclusion from the sacred offices, even from a place in the choir: to deprivation of benefice: to excommunication. Such as should elect to obey the canon, after suspension for ten days, might recover their station—on penance. And archdeacons for the rural clergy, deans for their chapters, (severally bound to present the married clerk), swore to accept no money in dereliction of duty. But against the advantages hoped for through diocesan supervision, ought to have been weighed the moral mischief which might arise,—which, under like compromise, had actually arisen in the Anglo-Saxon Church—; as, in the attempted subordination of one metropolitan see to the other, should have been perceived an alien means of

Christmas. P. & C.E. 7.

Flo. Wig.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1108.

encroaching on Christian liberty. Not in the number of prelates, not in the conformities of priests, but in the piety of a people, consists religion. And true catholicity shews itself in unity of faith, in brotherly love, rather than in common forms. In the next year Anselm died, having, through a persistency not altogether commendable, reduced the Church of England in some points to the Roman pattern. But since Henry's zeal for ecclesiastical affairs had been secondary, and the revenues of Canterbury were behoveful in the Norman wars, he postponed naming a successor in the see for five years. A briefer sequestration had been a mortal sin in Rufus.

A.D. 1109. April 21.

J. Saresb. Vita Ans. cap. 16.

Flo. Wig.

The natural obligations of a ruler of men, the expediency of such 'golden laws' as from time to time are referred to, stimulate our search for evidence of the common weal of England under these Norman kings. In vain. William I., on wresting the land from the natives, paid the cost of conquest out of the national exchequer: William II. replenished his horde oppressively; and, in the manner of wasting it, exampled the degradation of his age and country. And, under the jurisprudent Henry, maugre his 'magnificent charters,' we still perceive that our population existed in the royal mind chiefly as subject-matter for taxation. We cannot read a chapter of Anglo-Norman history, we cannot seek to trace a Saxon genealogy, within the period, without confirming this opinion. Long intervals of absence may account for the king's neglect of his realm; but the supererogatory covetousness which expended the blood and wealth of England in Normandy, fails to justify such neglect. And, when history tabulates the Beauclerk among the beneficent lawgivers of mankind, history should distinguish acts which aggrandise the person who wears the crown from acts which advance the nation.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1108.

For, under feudal system, all local, or, as I may say, social, government, pertained to the earls in their several counties, to magnates lay and ecclesiastic within their respective territories, in lesser degree even to the knightly order in their manours, and, in burghs and ports, to reeves. And, in fact, the subordination of authority which, after all, is the valuable and valid characteristic of feudalism, left little more than a supervisory, and but at times an initiating, power in the superior or supreme lord. Thus, as it had been in the case of Bishop Odō and of Hugh de Grantmesnil: as in that of Lanfranc, of Flambard, heretofore; so, now, when the king stayed abroad, a general overseership of public business might be delegated to, and effectually fulfilled by, Roger, Bishop of Sarum, chancellor, justiciar, or any other. Around him whom the king had set in place, all circled. But the initiation of 'good laws,' the supreme executive in extant laws, necessarily paused or happened through a rare contingence. Normally, the empire, any realm, nay the papacy itself, could, for a while, subsist without a head. It is a paradox: but it is manifest. Here, Maurice Bishop of London, Richard Abbot of Ely, Robert Abbot of S. Edmund's, Miles Crispin, Robert Fitz Hamon, Roger Bigod and Richard de Redvers, all of the king's council, died in one year; yet was there no change in the current of affairs. Only distress is chronicled in common forms, and the draining off of the nation's blood and treasure. But the condition of this country at the moment is to be inferred from new decrees. The minor vices had increased. Thieves, robbers taken in the fact, now suffered death on the gallows: coiners underwent blinding and mutilation of their lower limbs—albeit in both cases the old law had been bloodless. On the

A.D. 1107.

Flo. Wig.

A.D. 1108.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1108–12.

other hand, none but round money might pass current. The halfpenny or farthing, if cut out of, or broken off from, the penny—as had been the mode by reason of the indented cross—now ceased to be a legal tender. We perceive in these isolated efforts a retrogression in humanity: very jejune checks on rogues: no wisdom: little shift. Neither Anselm nor Roger nor any other, after the manner of Lanfranc, soothed the folk.

A.D. 1109. Jan. 13. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. H. Hunt. P.&C.E.7.

Henry holding Pentecost at Westminster, ambassadors, 'remarkable for stature and attire,' on the part of the Emperor Henry V. (Thuringia), demanded the king's daughter in marriage. Very splendid the receptions, large the stipulations, solemn the betrothals: and when, in worthy pomp, Æthelic, or as the Normans called her, Matilda—as yet but eight years and fifteen days of age—went forth a bride, great were the lamentations. For, though by feudal prerogative, vassals should aid their lord in such case, the Norman kings had hitherto given no precedent. And a tax of three shillings on every hide of land—the people called it 'Danegelt'—falling in a year exceptionally barren, drew to itself prognostics: an earthquake, a comet, seemed tokens at once of sympathy with the oppressed, and of anger against the oppressor.

Jan. 7, A.D. 1114. Hardy.

R. Nigri Chron. II. pp. 165, 166.

A.D. 1111. Flo. Wig. A.S.Chron.

In the year following, notwithstanding ancient usage, the king wore not his crown at the three great feasts. We have these facts noted: that the king got 800 marks from the Bishop of Winchester, 'whether he would or not:' that the church tower of Ely fell: that Canterbury, Taunton, Exeter, and many other towns, were burnt. In autumn Henry went abroad, and remained there during the next, and till July of the succeeding, year. His acts, meanwhile, briefly noticed; not an incident of general English history is in the chronicles. Only a few local

Ann. Winton.

A.D. 1112–13.

CHAP. III.

occurrences get dates. The foundation of the bishopric of Ely: of the colony of Northumbrian and other Flemings in Pembrokeshire: the removal of S. Grimbald's without the walls of Winton: the firing of Worcester—nothing else. A.D. 1110. A.D. 1111. Ann. Winton. fo. 26.

Henry held Christmas in his new palace at Windsor: no other court within the year. At midsummer he campaigned in Wales, with the usual result of slight submissions, of rearing of castles, and of after irruptions thereabout—such issuing in the overthrow of Owen Prince of Powis, the king's ally, by Griffyth of South Wales, brother of the king's concubine. Again Henry crossed the sea. And again the records betray the weary stagnation of home concerns, the idle hankering for change. A 'star called Comet' threatened the sky. Such an ebbing of the tide took place that for twenty-four hours men rode and walked, and boys paddled knee-deep, across Thames east of London bridge; smallest boats grounded in the Medway; and the sea-shore—if one may credit a later note—advanced itself twelve miles. A hurricane devastated towns and woods; the snow lay for nine weeks, and broken ice carried away bridges, merchandise, cattle. Mere acts of nature, too inarticulately told for modern purpose, church matters, interesting now to the antiquary alone, fill the page. The king assisted at consecration of S. Alban's. The Pope sent the pall to Ralf, now raised from the see of Rochester to the primacy; and a controversy, prepared by their respective predecessors, agitated our metropolitans. Thurstan of Bayeux, elect to the archbishopric of York, repudiating that voluntary homage which Gerard had paid to Anselm, declined the chrism. He 'would accept a blessing, he would not profess obedience:' *i.e.* he might admit the primacy of Canterbury, inasmuch as,

A.D. 1113.

A.D. 1114. A.S. Chron. Flo. Wig.

A.D. 1116. Gir. Camb. Sept. 21. A.D. 1114.

Oct. 10.

Paris on Wend. Mar. 29, 1115. A.S. Chron.

A.D. 1116.

R. Wend.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1116-18. in scriptural phrase, 'the lesser is blessed of the greater,' but he dare not forego the independence of the see of York. And the king angrily swearing that Thurstan should have neither benefice nor blessing, honest Thurstan went to Rome. Notwithstanding this punc-

A.D. 1113. tilio, and the recent canon, the king had invested Ralf

A.D. 1116. Cf. Twysd. Hist. Vind. iii. n. 50. in the see of Canterbury by ring and staff; and not long afterwards, Ralf being vexed at assumption of legatine powers by one Anselm, nephew of the late primate, himself sought apostolic comfort. And Ralf swore allegiance to the Pope; to defend the royalties of S. Peter against all men, not excepting his duties to the king. Verily the intricacies of these ecclesiastic doings baffle our understanding of them, till we recall the subterfuges which necessarily interpose between the workings of a spiritual tyranny in temporal affairs, and the more direct progress of a state policy.

A.D. 1115. A.S.Chron. The king, being in Normandy, caused all the chief men there to homage his son William, the Ætheling, as the English (for his mother's sake, and for old times'

A.D. 1116. Mar. 19–20. Flo. Wig. P.&C.E. 8 sake), fondly called him. And, in the next year, in a '*curia*,' '*optimates et barones, comites, barones et clerici*' present, at Sarum, all England did like homage and swore fealty.

A.D. 1118. May 1. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. R. Wend. The king still abroad, Queen Matilda died in the palace at Westminster; and, in the monastery attached thereto, the nation, disappointed in its hope of her, buried her without shew of grief. Educated from infancy under her aunt, Abbess Christina, first at Rumsey, (Hants), afterwards at Wilton (Wilts), this last Saxon princess of England had been, in truth, almost a nun. She had worn the veil: she had not professed. Con-

W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, v. ventual life, not a throne, had been her métier. State necessities, not woman's yearnings, had ruled her life;

and, 'satisfied with a child of either sex,' she endured with complacency the absence, it may be added the infidelities, of her husband. Not unbeautiful in person, of a chastened mien and modest grace, of innate piety, pure in heart, devout, she affected the formal sanctity of the cloister; under royal robes wore hair cloth; and, at the season of lamentations, would tread the sacred threshold barefoot. She washed the poors' feet, handled foul ulcers, kissed lazars' hands, decked mendicants' tables, and took pride in lowliness. With taste in song, and reverence for choral service, she grew prodigal on melodious clerks, spake with them, condescended, did liberally and promised over and beyond. In short, she became a patroness of art, in some sort, to whom experts in verse or voice came from afar, sighing, singing, soothing. And, as the vein waxed and she desired to be known as a rewarder of merit in such things, the Queen's largess exhibited itself on outlandish minstrels rather than on gleemen of her own kind. She accepted strangers' flatteries in lieu of honester affections. And she overtaxed her tenantry to purchase a fleeting praise.

CHAP. III.

H. Hunt.

R. Wend. A.D. 1105.

W. Malm. De Gestis Regum., v.

Complications in Normandy now require notice. That Count of Evreux whom, 'as a horse or an ox,' Robert had transferred to Henry, and his countess— daughter of the illustrious Count de Nevers, wily, pretty, *élancée*, managing—had, somehow, irritated sage De Meulan and the courtiers; and the king, persuaded by these latter that fealty had not been duly paid, banished faithful William and ambitious Heloise, who both, for a while, refuged with the Count of Anjou. Again: on surrender of Falaise, Henry had committed custody of the infant heir of Normandy to Hélie de S. Saens, Count d'Arques, husband of a natural daughter of Duke Robert. But, reflecting that such guardianship of the

A.D. 1105.

O. Vit. xi. 33.

A.D. 1106.

O. Vit. xi. 20.

CHAP. III.

Clito gave pretext and force to revolution, the king soon sought by secret means to get possession of his nephew. Faithful men, however, aware of Robert de Beauchamp coming to that end, roused up the sleeping boy, whom Hélie, carrying to foreign lands, reared to puberty. In process of time, and at the epoch at which we have now arrived, King Louis, William Count of Poictiers, Henry Duke of Burgundy, Conan Duke of Bretagne, and lastly Fulke Count of Anjou, espoused the Clito's cause: the seigneurs and the peasants also throughout the duchy yearned towards their lawful prince, and Henry began to feel the sure surroundings of an usurper's triumph. Almeric (Amaury) de Montfort—Montfort in the Pays Chartrain, France—urged his nephew Fulke to hostilities: but for a while the royal arms repelled the Count of Anjou. Then Theobald Count of Blois, aided by Henry's troops, successfully opposing Louis, the strategic juncture gat embroiled and stayed. Hereon it had fallen that Robert de Belésme, being as before related on a mission from king to king, incurred his doom. Yet, spite of this outrage on an ambassador, French and Normans and neighbour belligerents unaccountably coalesced in a truce. Fulke met Henry at some druidical monument nigh Alençon; and, in witness of reconciliation, betrothed his daughter to the king's son. As parcel of this treaty (to which I shall refer) Henry restored the Count d'Evreux, after an exile of fourteen months, and pardoned Amaury de Montfort and William Crispin. Shortly, however, Heloise, and within four years William, died without issue; and thereupon Amaury, sister's son and lawful heir of the Count d'Evreux, claimed succession to the county. Now the house of Montfort-Amaury—which is not to be mistaken for the Anglo-Norman

A.D. 1111. O. Vit. xi. 37.

A.D. 1112.

O. Vit. xi. 44. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. Ante, p. 152.

O. Vit. xi. 45. Lent, 1113.

Post, p. 173.

A.D. 1114.

A.D. 1118. April 18.

family of Montfort-sur-Risle and of Beaudesert—had troubled Henry in these wars: and, moreover, the sister of this 'Count de Montfort,' Bertrade, late Queen of France, had borne to her first husband the Count of Anjou, Fulke V., heretofore an adversary; and Amaury stood in the category of an enemy—of a very resolute and efficient enemy: he had urged his nephew to war: he adhered to the Clito: he was a Frenchman: he had feudal right to seizin in Norman Evreux, and might not be treated 'as horse or ox.' CHAP. III.

Louis, 'having experienced Henry's magnanimity and abilities,' the two kings met at Gisors beyond Epte, embraced and condoned all grievances. The suzerain then invested Henry with the lordship of Belésme (within Le Mayne) and of the duchy of Bretagne—Henry having already betrothed his natural daughter Maude to Conan III. (son of Alan Fergant by Ermengarde of Anjou). And now matters took form and substance. A.D. 1114. March.

The seigneurs of Belésme, adhering to the politics of their lord of evil memory, stood out against royal arrangement of their concerns. And Henry, aided by Fulke of Anjou, Theobald of Blois, and Rotrou of Perche, besieged the chief castle. General attack being suspended by reason of Holy Cross, accidentally, on certain of the besieged knights provoking single combat, the Counts Theobald and Rotrou charged; and, in thrusting the adventurers backward, entered their gates. The army, thronging tumultuously, followed, and the citadel, after a short resistance, yielded to the flames. 'That noble edifice, which Robert the accursed had erected' with skill and care commensurate with his engineering genius and his ambition, lay in ruins; and, for a while, exhausted Normandy might rest. Once May 1. May 3.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1117. only, on a summer night, the King of France and the Count of Flanders entered Normandy in power, but in a panic dispersed. Normandy was oppressed with taxes and levies: England also.

A.D. 1118. A.S.Chron. Flo. Wig. H. Hunt. O. Vit. xii. 1. The people's heart turned towards the Clito; and by intrigue and intervention the suzerain endeavoured to advance the exile to his just inheritance. Actual rupture of the peace, however, seems to have been on Henry's part, who surprised the castle of S. Claire (on the boundary of realm and duchy), and thence harassed the French. Whereupon, Louis and his knights, muffled in black cowls, entered a cell of the monks of S. Ouen and fortified. And Henry, advancing and building two forts hard by—*Malassis* and *Gîte à Lièvres*—recommenced a war that protracted itself nearly four years longer.

Ib. ch. 3. A.D. 1118. June. Hugh Sieur de Gournay, a youth brought up as a son and knighted by King Henry, abruptly armed; and, seizing Plessis, put his nephew, Hugh Talbot, therein: garrisoned Gournay, La Ferté and Guillefontaine, and laid waste the lands between Seine and the

June 17. sea. The king, arresting him and Henry d'Eu, compelled

A.S.Chron. delivery of their fortresses, and, as it would seem, released them thereafter; and, on recovering Plessis, refortified that castle with a gallant band under *Robert* and William—sons of an Amaury whom I fail to identify. Then Hugh de Gournay and Henry d'Eu rose again. More serious defection issued. On the royal forces be-

O. Vit. xii. 4. sieging St. Ceneri, Robert Giroie called Fulke of Anjou

A.D. 1118. July. to the rescue, who for eight days assaulted the king's garrison in La Motte Gautier; and, 140 king's men-at-arms surrendering there, he razed that fortress to the ground. Henry, thereupon—probably with a view to

Aug. 1. placing a barrier between Normandy and Anjou—

granted Séez, Alençon, and all the territories of Belésme to his own nephew, Theobald of Blois; and Theobald, with the king's assent, enfeoffed his brother Stephen with the same in lieu of his patrimonial interests in France. And here Stephen of Blois aptly learned the art of free-booting; and, by outrages, exactions, changing of customs and of services, made himself odious and his vassals disloyal. Presently Eustace de Bréteuil, Richer de L'Aigle, Robert de Neubourg, Stephen d'Aumale, and many others, revolted from King Henry; and all these, with Amaury, sought to restore the Clito to his father's dukedom. Now Amaury de Montfort was a man warlike and powerful, strong in castles and garrisons, in kindred, and in the meaner property, wealth. High among the notables of France, to him almost the whole of Normandy hied; and, when he had obtained the citadel of Evreux through William Pointel the castellan, the whole neighbourhood lay open to his ravages. Notwithstanding the treaty of arms still extant between Flanders and England, Baldwin VII. also took up the cause of his cousin William, in full force pierced Arques, and burnt the Talou in Henry's sight; while Henry, impoverished, forsaken, suspicious of all Normans, garrisoned Bures with English and Bretons. Frequent encounters happened with the Flemings; and in one of them, or in a mutiny at Eu, the youthful count (Baldwin à la Hache) received that wound—not necessarily mortal—through which, partly by excitement, partly by sensual indiscretion, he died next year. Then Robert Hachet, Gerard de Fécamp, Enguerand de Vascueil, Anselm and Gilbert de Cresci ravaged the lands of Talou and of Caux, carrying off knights, farmers, women and infants, to large ransoms. And the people made common cause with the seigneurs,

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1118.

O. Vit. xii. 2.

October 1118.

H. Hunt.

Ib.

O. Vit. xii. 3.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1118.

They of Brai harried the Rumois; and all the borders mourned in ashes. On the banks of Epte reeving and cattle-driving became a business; and the long winter nights covered worse atrocities. 'Treason,' says the panegyrist, 'now chilled and numbed the hearts of eighteen noblest castellans,' who noted the waning of the King of England and the waxing of William Clito.

O. Vit. xii. 4.

Richer de L'Aigle, being contumeliously refused seizin of his lands in England, fled and compacted with the King of France. If his inheritance were not restored he would desert Henry and adhere to Louis; the latter undertaking, in such case, himself to keep sixty knights and that Amaury de Montfort should keep fifty knights in the Castle of L'Aigle. Henry, however, meantime persuaded by Rotrou Count of Perche, relented towards Richer, and Richer would fain break with Louis. But the French had already marched in power on L'Aigle, burnt the purlieus, obtained the fortress; and, after three days' need of food, retired therefrom. Custody of the castle

Sept. 3.

being committed by Louis to Amaury de Montfort, William Crispin and Hugh de Châteauneuf, William de Rai, Sancho of Perche, William de Fontenil and Leonard d'Ecublei attached themselves to Ralf the Red, and rallied on King Henry's part at Pont Echaufré. Henry, by forced marches, appeared before the ruins of L'Aigle. But here Tankerville his chamberlain told that De Gournay and D'Aumale had possession of the hill above Rouen, and were even then fortifying the abbey of Holy Trinity, while the citizens looked to betray the place to France. So Henry struck tent and hurried amain towards his Norman capital; the garrison of L'Aigle hampering his rear. Armament and revolt had been a fiction. But L'Aigle, when rebuilt, held

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1118. O. Vit. xii. 5.

itself stoutly for a year. With 1000 troops Henry now laid siege to La Ferté; but rains inundating the country he passed on devastating to Neubourg, which he burnt. From month to month, from year to year, like acts had sped to like results. No sustained strategy, no well-planned campaign, had been possible where suzerains warred: where powers varied through mixed and shifting vassalage: where family ties and family ravels made and unmade secret alliances: where friends and foes fought and fraternised: where an usurper haut in temper, utterly without military talent if not wanting in knightly courage, competed with the rightful heir whose misfortunes attracted the imagination of an entire people. But Henry accepted the position he had sought; content to be miserable in prospect of a glorious thereafter. At his table sate friends of the Clito: his very thoughts became the common property of his injured nephew and of his many enemies. Normans retired from the Norman standard, and in Normandy the King of England felt himself an alien and acted as a tyrant.

The complexities, the shiftings, I have endeavoured to make clear: but it is the more difficult to narrate events with historical exactness, since the sole record is obviously limited and partial. We ascertain the actions in their entirety only through patient analysis: they may be truly told, but they lie scattered and are often incoherent. We presume the motives leading thereto on a just balancing of those actions. But if we take the facts on the faith of the chronicler, we shall not seldom come to a conclusion contradictory to the chronicle, *e. g.* "The seigneurs forsook the peaceful king as Achitophel and Shimei joined the parricide Absalom: revolted from him who had been chosen and conse-

CHAP. III. A.D. 1118.

crated by the bishops; and forfeited the fealty which they owed him as their lord, causelessly going over to a beardless count bent on mischief.' We know of no election of Henry as Duke of Normandy, of no religious rite entitling him to fealty. We know of no wrong doing on the Clito's part.

O. Vit. xii. 8. Nov.

The King again approached L'Aigle in power; again suffered a repulse. Theobald, being thrown from his horse, gat rescued from a sallying party by his brother Stephen and certain knights. A very general engagement followed, in which, were it not for his brazen helmet, Henry himself had been killed by a stone: but the battle decided nothing. Then the burgesses of Alençon, vexed by their ruler young Stephen, now by Henry's grant Count of Mortagne, treated with the Count of Anjou, to whom they proffered allegiance; and Fulke, being admitted into the town by night, invested the fortress and assaulted. Theobald and Stephen on the king's part failed to convoy provisions to the garrison, and Fulke, in a very strenuous engagement having routed the royal arms, carried on the siege, and, by cutting off water, forced a surrender.

Dec.

Ib. xii. 10. O. Vit. xi. 4–6. A.D. 1107.

Eustace, natural son of William de Bréteuil, who, rather than the legitimate nephews Ra. de Guader and Regnold de Grancei, had been preferred to succession in the county, had married Henry's bastard daughter Juliana. But Henry—it may have been for strategic purposes—had retained the important castle of Ivri; and on that ground, when prompted by countrymen and kinsmen, Eustace meditated revolt. Now the lords of Bréteuil were, as we have seen, seneschals of Normandy. By blood alliance and by constant loyalty they had deserved well of the dukes. Haply for his crown the Conqueror had been beholden to. William son of

Osbern; and, in the castle of Winchester, William son of William had stood at point of death on guard for his lawful prince. Among the noblest of nobles, powerful in forts and friends, the house of Bréteuil enjoyed the reverence of Normans. Henry, anxious to retain the service of his chief count not less, perhaps, than the goodwill of his son-in-law, trifled with demands which he had not the magnanimity to grant or the candour to refuse; and, in ostent of confidence which truly he reposed in none, he committed to Eustace custody of the son of Ralf Harenc castellan of the fortress in question; accepting, formally, Eustace's two daughters as hostages on the other part. The act, as between strangers, was simply normal. But I take it in the present case to have involved some promise with a pledge that, when convenient, Ivri should be restored to De Bréteuil. Unhappily, Eustace—weak or vicious, we know not—at the instigation, it is said, of Amaury de Montfort—surely in some paroxysm of folly and of jealousy against the man who held Ivri—blinded the son to spite the father. And Harenc, passionately complaining, the king 'with lively grief,' gave into Harenc's hands his own grand-children, 'that he might wreak his vengeance upon them.' Harenc wreaked him with a vengeance; thrusting out the poor girls' eyes, cutting off their noses. Human sensibility revolted as it revolts from Eustace's cruelty: but only a modern sympathy perceives a savagery in the retort. For, among the cold-hearted deeds which stigmatise Henry's rule of Normandy, this may be extenuated; since the absolute droits in such case required that what befel the hostage on one part should be meted out on the hostages on the other part—else there had been no sense in hostages. And it may be that the idea of justice quashed the idea of mercy:

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1118-19. that Henry, as a stakeholder, felt not as a parent. The stringency of military uses at that time: the unknown reality of that 'lively grief,' must give us pause. But in the after course, the king sans natural affection is

A.D. 1119. all too manifest. Maddened with grief and wrath the parents, Eustace and Juliana, fortified Lire, Glos, Pont S. Pierre and Paci; and, while the count lay guarding

Feb. 19-20. Paci, the countess shut herself up in Bréteuil. But the townsfolk of Bréteuil invited the king and opened their gates: and the royal troops forthwith laid siege to the citadel. Thus beleaguered, it is chronicled—but with a malignant text, 'there is no wickedness like the wickedness of a woman'—that Juliana sought a conference with her sire, and, in desperation, aimed a bolt at him: that the king brake up the drawbridge: and that, on surrender of the garrison, he would not suffer his daughter to depart freely with the troops. If the attempt at parricide seem all too awkward for credence—a woman armed with a crossbow passing unchallenged to and from the presence during a siege—the climax is well authenticated.

Feb. 15-22. Whether by direct orders to that effect, or through any connivance at her escape, on a cold February night, snow water in the castle ditch, the sad but courageous dame, exposing her naked limbs to ribald soldiery, let herself down the walls and waded the fosse.

The king, having reduced the several lordships of Bréteuil, except that of Paci still held by Eustace, gave the same to Ralf de Guader. But meantime the people of Hiesmes, Courci, and other southern parts,

O. Vit. xii. 11. seceded. Regnold de Baliol coming into the royal presence, at Falaise, refused to deliver up his mansion Renouard, and boldly withdrew fealty. But such

CHAP. III.
A.D. 1119.

spirited acts being unsupported, Henry, in destroying this knight's home, overawed the folk of Courci, Grantmesnil and Montpinçon.

O. Vit. xii. 12.

In Andelys, one Ascelin, tenant of the see of Rouen, conceiving himself injured by the archbishop, treated with the King of France; and, having hidden a chosen band of Frenchmen in his barn, awaited. On Louis' advance, the inhabitants, astonied, raising some English war cry, hurried amain towards the citadel, and the French, emerging from the straw and joining in the shout, entered the castle with them. Presently, the familiar bruit of "Montjoie" passed along the walls. Natives were driven out and adventurers occupied the gates. Louis, generously, let go free Richard, one of King Henry's bastards who had sanctuaried in S. Mary's, and his comrades of the garrison, and then he consigned the fortress to his own knights Godfrey de Seran, Enguerand de Trie, Alberic de Bouri and Baldwin de Brai; Henry, meantime, putting 100 soldiers under his chief captain, William son of Theodoric, into Noyon.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1119. O. Vit. xii. 14.

AT this time the relative powers stood thus: There remained faithful to Henry Rouen, Bayeux, Coutances, Avranches, Séez, Arques, Nonancourt, Illiers, Caen, Fécamp, Falaise, Hiesmes, Lillebourne, Vernon, Argentan, and some minor places; and of the nobles, Richard (D'Abrincis) Earl of Chester, Ranulf-Bricasart (De Meschines)—his nephew, Ralf de Conches, William de Warrenne (Earl of Surrey), William de Roumere (Lord of Bolingbroke), William de Tankerville, Ralf de S. Victor, Walter Giffard (Earl of Buckingham), Nigel and William D'Albini, Waleran and Robert (de Bellomont), sons of the Count de Meulan, recently deceased. But the rest of Norman fortresses, towns, magnates, burgesses—the last now rising in potence—upheld the cause of William the Clito, their rightful duke. Him the suzerain and people of France also supported, according to opportunities: Flanders also, in which he now refuged till Baldwin's death. But, since the treaty of which I shall write presently, Anjou had stood aloof.

A.D. 1118.

June 17, 1119. O. Vit. xi. 37.

Some changes, in common form, occurred. Richard Fresnil of La Ferté, holding King Henry's moneys somehow, appropriated the same to building a fort at Anciens, and, with his eight sons, took to marauding. On the other hand, Robert son of Ascelin Goël, once a prime enemy, returned to fealty. But as yet Henry had failed in his dealings with the Count D'Evreux.

O. Vit. xii. 13.

Amaury de Montfort held the citadel as we have seen: and the king offered him quiet possession of the county if only he would cede the capitol. But Amaury insisted that fort and county were his inheritance. He would make no compromise. He stood on his own rights independently of his position in the Clito's cause. And he hurried by night from castle to castle, vexing all by his activity, encouraging confederates, warning against spies, while pillaging the royal adherents wheresoever; careful, nevertheless, to spare the churches. Only Ralf the Red, Lord of Pont Echaufré, Henry's best man in Normandy, though a Breton, could in anywise withstand this resourceful, energetic, Count de Montfort. CHAP. IV. A.D. 1119.

William Ætheling of England, now, to his father's joy, arrived; and at Lisieux wedded Matilda, daughter of Fulke Count of Anjou. The Norman chronicler, having throughout accepted Henry's pretensions to Le Mayne, dates the important acts respecting that county, consequent on this marriage, as occurring at the period of the contract; reciting particulars which assuredly could not have happened then. For the whole estate, as has been shown, vested in Fulke. Fulke, therefore, could not have done homage and sworn fealty to Henry for Le Mayne. I, therefore, follow our English chronicler who, living at the time and writing not long after the event, describes, in their natural order, facts which certainly took place. On this marriage, then—not under any circumstances before it—Fulke, suzerain lord and beneficiary of Le Mayne, the father-in-law, made over the county of Le Mayne to Prince William as Matilda's dowry; and, he himself being about to go to Jerusalem, committed Anjou to King Henry's 'care;' that province to be restored should he return; otherwise to go to William and his heirs by

May, June

O. Vit. xi 45.

Ante, p. 162.

Ante, p. 151.

W. Malm. De Gestis Regum, v.

Ante, pp. 151–2.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1119.

Matilda. Through the exertions of the Count of Anjou, of Theobald Count of Blois, and of his mother, Adela, Henry's sister, King Louis, as suzerain in chief, conceded Normandy and ratified Le Mayne; and received the Ætheling's homage for the former—if not for the latter also. Had Henry possessed any legal claim on Le Mayne, this formality had been without meaning.

O. Vit. xii. 15.

In conciliatory vein Henry now restored William Talevas, son of Robert de Belésme, in all his father's lands; excepting to his own use the donjons of Alençon, Almenèches, Vignats; pardoned Ro. de S. Cenerei, and restored him Montreuil and Echafour. But, on experiencing no access of loyalty beyond the circle of his favours, he embittered himself and raided on his enemies promiscuously, fired Pont S. Pierre, which had

Ib. 17.

returned to its lord, Eustace; and, at length, in power attacked Evreux. Evreux, as seat of a bishop and of a count, had been adorned with many shrines, beautified in the idea of the time and fortified exceedingly. In all these wars and in many preceding stirs, city and citadel had by enthusiasm and valour merited renown. Moreover, its strategic position with regard to France, as it had tested its courage, enhanced its value. And of this Henry had been aware when requiring cession of the county from Duke Robert: and of this, at the present, he became nervously conscious. The citizens who had welcomed their count, joined faithfully with his garrison; and, defended by Philip and Fleury, sons of the late King Philip of France by Bertrade, Amaury's sister, by W. Pointel their seneschal, who somewhile since had yielded the fort to its lawful lord, and by Richard, son of one Fulke their provost, and many chosen knights, repulsed the royal arms led on by Richard the king's bastard, Stephen now Count de

Mortagne, his nephew, and Ralf de Guader, now lord of Bréteuil. CHAP. IV. A.D. 1119.

The prospect of acquiring Evreux, whether by fraud or by force, seeming desperate, Henry considered the expediency of fire; and, promising to reconstruct, even more gorgeously, the sacred buildings that might be destroyed, obtained from Bishop Ouen, not without an instructive exhibition of clerical casuistry, assent that, although the abbey of S. Saviour and the church 'of the glorious Mother and Virgin' might, through unholy contact, suffer damage, yet Evreux should be given to the flames; so that in ruins, like a malefactor's soul, it might get purged. And autumn drouth and fanning gales welcomed the brands; and palace and home, shrine and market, all things that were lovely and dear in Evreux city, writhed in smoke, smouldered in ashes; and the ousted, scorched, folk dispersed themselves in quest of shelter and of food. Henry was master of the ruined town: but the castle stood beyond his reach. Amaury de Montfort, from without, encouraged his devoted garrison. With Eustace, ex-lord of Bréteuil, Odo Sieur de Gometz, Guy de Malvoisin, and many valiant knights, he harassed the besiegers or convoyed munitions to his citadel. Deadly encounters took place here: and along the banks of Eure, skirmishings, ambushes, night and day alarms. Goël, now lord of Ivri and Ralf the Red trailing the king's enemies.

Louis laid siege to Dangu, the garrison of which, in straights, burnt themselves out and fled. And while the French sate down before Rufus' Châteauneuf, and their horse foraged to within a league of the gates, Henry lay at Rouen impassive. On intelligence of the ruin of Evreux city, however, Louis, raising the siege O. Vit. xii. 18.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1119. Aug. 20.

of Châteauneuf, burnt his huts, and retreated into France; then, countermarching, from Etampes, he re-entered Normandy in full force; while Henry, believing his adversary to have retired from the field, advanced, in power, to Noyon. Having heard mass, and reaped, bound, and carried off, the corn to Lions, Henry, leading his men-at-arms gallantly against the insurgent peasants, now set four knights on the top of an isolated hill, Verclive, in the plain of Brémule, whence the entire Norman Vexin might be descried. Presently, to them, burnished helms and flaunting standards appeared in the route from Andely; and then Louis, at head of his brilliant cavalry,—still complaining that he could not meet with Henry—came on towards Noyon. The French had looked for some traitorous surrender of that castle; and now, in disappointment, fired the monks' granaries at Boucheron. Spies brought word to either host that a king in person marched in the other; all were eager to join battle. Bouchard de Montmorency, constable, would have dissuaded Louis from fighting on Norman ground: William de Tankerville, chamberlain, urged Henry to retire from the conflict. But, braver counsels prevailing, Henry put on his armour and disposed his mailed troops while descending from the slopes of Verclive into the plain of Brémule. Edward of Salisbury carried the standard; Robert (Earl of Gloucester) and Richard, the king's bastards, the Count Henry d'Eu, William de Warrenne, Walter Giffard, Roger Fitz-Roger, Walter D'Aufray, W. de Tankerville, W. de Roumere, Richard de Bienfaite, Nigel d'Albini and others, following.

Louis, enjoining 400 knights to do their devoir that day, arrayed. William de Garlande, seneschal, Matthew Count de Beaumont, chamberlain, Bouchard de

Montmorency, constable, Guy de Clermont, Osmond de Chaumont, Peter de Maule, Paganus de Montjoie, for the glory of French arms and for the liberty of the kingdom; William the Clito, for his inheritance and restoration of his father; Balderic de Brai, William Crispin and other Normans, for their feofs and their alliances, standing with France. CHAP. IV. A.D. 1119.

The French ranked in two lines: the first under William the Clito: the second under King Louis. The English in three divisions; the Norman barons with their vassals in the van: the household troops led by King Henry as main battle: and the king's son with infantry in rear. The first battalion of the French army charged, gallantly: but whether at the outset it unhorsed the Norman feudaries, and, on attacking England's main battle, gat routed; or, careering without order, lost its own horses and fell back, *hors de combat*, is not clear. The second battalion of French now came into action against the English main battle. Lances shivered all; every man fought hand to hand. In this mêlée, W. Crispin, who, with eighty followers, had been surrounded in the opening fray, getting sight of the king whom he mortally hated, came full tilt through the throng and struck him twice on the head. Only the 'chevet of the hauberk' saved Henry's life. The doughty heft fetched royal blood. English chroniclers now tell how their lord, furibund, with one blow felled Crispin, horse and man: but the better opinion is with the Norman, who describes Roger Fitz Richard bearing down the sacrilegious assailant, throwing himself upon the prostrate knight, and hardly warding off such as would have slain him on the spot. At this juncture, Godfrey de Perans, with some Vexin troops (probably of the second brigade), staggered the English; who,

H. Hunt. R. Wend.

O. Vit. ut sup.

H. Hunt.

O. Vit.

R. Wend.

H. Hunt.

O. Vit. xii. 18.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1119.

recovering ground, took Bouchard, Osmond and others; and Louis, noting that eighty knights were nowhere to be seen, that his captains had yielded their swords, that his troops wavered, galloped from the field accompanied by Balderic de Brai alone. 'And the army which had advanced pompously by the high road, dispersed itself through bye-paths.' And the Anglo-Normans, having taken 140 prisoners and utterly routed the French forces, pursued to the very gates of Andely. Louis himself, wandering through the wood of Mucegros on foot, hardly reached his quarters; while Henry, elated, having paid thirty silver marks for the French king's standard, courteously returned the royal warhorse with its equipage; the Ætheling, in like manner, restoring the Clito's, with—it is said at his father's instance—'presents suitable to an exile.'

Altogether the narrative of this important conflict is unsatisfying. Clearly it was a victory which resulted in peace between France and England. Clearly, too, it overwhelmed the Clito's cause and accomplished Henry's ambition. No chronicler saw it. The account is made up by monks on either side on hearsay; and I have constructed the action from a comparison of their several stories. But clerkly reasoning carries us face to face with one feature of such battles. Out of 900 knights—400 and 500—only three were slain: 'for, through fear of God and regard for the fraternity of arms—Christian warriors not thirsting for blood—the barons spared each other.' But the truth escapes, that steel armour and the prevalent custom of ransoms had effect: and among other expedients of the time is noted that many fugitives threw aside their cognisances, and, adroitly mixing with the pursuers, made away: Brave Robert de Courci following too closely made himself prisoner in Andely.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1119.

King Louis returned to Paris, humbled. But the rhetorical, inflated, speech of Amaury de Montfort, who had not been present at Brémoule, encouraged him once more. And truly, in a grand cause, the exhortation is sonorous enough. "Let the bishops and counts and all other lords of the realm rally round you, their king: and let the priests with the whole body of their parishioners march under your standard, that an army of the commons may avenge our common wrongs on the common enemy." The idea, essentially French in expression, captivated the imagination of one worthy of the French crown. And Louis bade the ban. Under ecclesiastical censure, Burgundy and Berri, Auvergne, Champagne, The Isle (Paris), Orleans, Vermandois, the Beauvoises, Laon, the Gatinois, rose to arms; and, every one leaving his home for the rendezvous, a populace pillaged France throughout. Each man did what he would. Royal authority fainted: episcopal malediction gat benumbed. And the levy en masse became, as it had been in Charles the Simple's time, unavailable—destructive of the interests in hand. Louis, therefore, still nobly intent on restoring Eustace to his patrimony and on reinstating those Normans who had been banished for the Clito's sake, assembled at Bréteuil the people of the nearer districts, Péronne, Nesle, Noyon, Lille, Tournai, Arras, Gournay, Clermont, borderers of France and Flanders. Here, however, Ralf de Guader (lord of Bréteuil) opening the three gates, defied entry; and, charging out, now from one, now from another, opposed advance. Very spirited skirmishing took place there, and Henry's son, doughty Richard, arriving with 200 knights at a crisis, the French gave way. An incident, romantic rather than veracious, is told: Ralf the Red, changing his armour

O. Vit. xii. 19.

Sept. 17.

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1119.

many times, careered from gate to gate, bearing down distinguished warriors and bestowing their horses on his unhorsed friends; till, met by a Fleming, notable in mien, he fell to ground. By the same lance Luke de la Barre and other warlike knights had bitten dust. But the Breton hero, rising, though on foot, assailed hand to hand and mortally wounded the strenuous Fleming, who, in the dungeon of Bréteuil, expired within fifteen days. Daring deeds are quickly followed and surpassed: but the recorder who admits gallantry in a foe is apt to claim more than human heroism for a friend. King Henry followed his champion's march, hoping an easy victory: but the enemy had fled; and 'by God's just judgment,' the priests (who had made personal return to the ban) went home ingloriously, overwhelmed with fears, losses, sorrow, confusion, because they had suffered consecrated places to be defiled. France in full retreat, William de Chaumont and 200 others raided in the neighbourhood of Tilliers; but, from an ambush, Gilbert the constable captured their leader, Louis' son-in-law, whom he ransomed at 200 silver marks, and dispersed the rest. Richer de l'Aigle, however, carried off one Odo and much cattle from Cisai, and being followed by the peasants charged them angrily. Yet when he saw those whom he had spoiled prostrate at a wayside cross, he spared them, and gat recompense for the pious act in restoration to King Henry's favour and to his father's lands in Normandy and in England. The little trait of Christian feeling, even the jejune allusion to attendant honours, is refreshing in the arid waste of warfare; pleasant in the moral solitude.

O. Vit. xi. 20.

As Henry marched threatening through Ouche, Roger Fitz William and Arnold du Bois, castellans of Glos and

Lire, apprehending that Eustace and Amaury had failed in making head against the king, surrendered their charges, and these, also feofs of Bréteuil, passed to Ralf de Guader. Ralf—himself a Breton—as his title denotes—suspecting Normans generally, and the Sieur de Conches in especial, through whose lands he had need pass from Bréteuil into Bretagne, in primitive feudal fashion enfeoffed the lord of Conches in Pont S. Pierre and the valley of Pitres, which lay on the left bank of Seine, neat its juncture with Andelle. So the Sieur de Conches became the vassal of the stranger lord of Bréteuil in these parts; bound to protect his marches and to give free passage to his chief. And Ralf de Guader—son of the Conqueror's Earl of Norwich and rebel—gave his daughter in marriage to King Henry's base-born son Richard the brave and hopeful; and, with her, conceded as dowry Bréteuil, Glos and Lire, and the whole of that noble Norman feof. CHAP. IV. A.D. 1119. O. Vit. xii. 25.

As 'the Sabbath was made for man;' so, a return of our thoughts to ecclesiastical affairs rests us. The clang of arms, the gaunt heroisms, the smoky or bloody outrages of this working world, pall on us by times: nay, the very sobriquets of feudal lords, their pedigrees, and the jarring interests of seigneurs related and hostile, are apt to strain the imagination, if not to overtask the mind; and we hearken with a sense of peace to convent bells, take solace in church pomp, get charmed with some recluse's worth, and gently nod to tales of prelatic virtue. Upon the death of Pascal, John, a monk of Gaieta, who had been chancellor to three successive Pontiffs, viz., Desiderius, Urban, and Pascal, was elected Pope as Gelasius. And he dying next year, Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, who in Anselm's time had Jan. 19, 1118. J. Cont. Wig.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1119. visited England, succeeded as Calixtus II. In meantime, however, the Emperor Henry V. had raised one Bourdin to the supreme hierarchy; the antipope Gregory.

A.S.Chron. Hoved. O. Vit. xii. 21. October—Nov. 21. Pope Calixtus now came to Rheims, the ecclesiastical capitol of France proper, and presided at a catholic council. Some passages being of historic import, others of antiquarian interest, I abstract the minutes.

J. Cont. Wig. Thurstan, elect of York, pledging his word (sufficient in a priest) that he would on no account accept consecration from the Pope, gat licence to attend the council. Primate Ralf absented through illness, but the Bishops of Durham, Exeter, S. David's, and Llandaff, then in Normandy, being sent by the king, had not arrived at Rheims

Ib. Hoved. Oct. 19. O. Vit. xii. 21. ere Thurstan, 'gaining over the Romans by bribes,' procured consecration at his holiness' own hands; many French Bishops assisting: procured, likewise, the desirable privilege of independence of the see of Canterbury.

Oct. 21. Sixteen archbishops had now assembled, and Thurstan, as metropolitan of York, took rank 'according to ancient decree, next after the prelates of Rheims and Bourges.' More than 200 bishops, very many abbots—in all 424 pastoral staffs—were present, and an innumerable 'bevy' of monks and clergy, 'prefiguring the last judgment and fulfilling the prophecy of Isaiah, "the Lord will come with the elders of His people and the princes thereof."'

The apostolic throne being placed on a dais at east end of the church of S. Mary, Virgin, and mass sung, the holy Father took his seat, having immediately next him the four cardinals whose learning and address fitted them to reply on all occasions. The deacon, Chrysogonus, in dalmatic, standing by the Pope's side with an open volume of canons and authentic decrees in hand; ready to quote. Six other deacons, tuniced,

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1119.

dalmaticed, prompt to enforce silence and to quiet perturbed disputants. After Litany, and that prayer for all estates of men which remains to the Christian church as internal evidence of inspiration, Calixtus preached on the gospel, shewing Christ's power to calm men's souls. And truly, the time offered a parallel. It needed One able to walk the sea, if any would now still the troubled waves and lay the tempest of human passions. But the representatives of Peter, bold as Peter, are apt to sink with Peter. Clerical ingenuity, rife when on a dais, often, in very excellence of art, mars the text; and dark sayings and hard lines take form and colour from rhetoric, pedantry, sacerdotalism. Cardinal Conon, exhorting the clergy to be careful of their flocks, presently quoted Jacob's tricks on Laban as an example of diligence to be commended.

S. Mark vi. 48 sq.

Mundane politics however, now, as ever in the Church of Rome, disturbed the suave and unctuous flow of ecclesiastical affairs. King Henry, for once animated by his father's spirit, peremptorily had forbidden the English bishops to lay any grievance before the sacred congress. "I will freely render full justice in my own land: and, since I discharge, yearly, all payments due, I maintain my privileges. Go, salute our lord the Pope in my behalf; but beware that no superflous novelties be foisted into my realm!" Such passages, however rare, explain the popularity of Beauclerk. But King Louis, in person, attended by the chief lords of France, entered the council on another ground; and, ascending the platform — in right of a king — complained. Tall and corpulent, pallid, fluent of speech—I doubt not we have the words of a very witness—he said, "I come, with my barons, to demand inquiry and advice. And I pray you, my lord Pope, and you, my reverend fathers, to

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1119.

hear me. The King of England, with whom I have been in alliance, has injured me and mine. By force of arms he seized Normandy, a feof of my crown; and, contrary to right, imprisons the duke, albeit his brother. He has disinherited and driven into exile William the duke's son, his own father's heir. Behold the Clito here! I have sent bishops and counts for redress. I have failed therein. When I commissioned Robert de Belésme in that behalf, King Henry shut him up. Again: he has withdrawn his nephew, Theobald of Blois, from my service and raised up for me an enemy in my own vassal. Again: against feudal custom, against church law too, he captured the Count de Nevers, whom the said Theobald to this day holds in ward." The brevity, the directness, of this speech is admirable. And the foregoing history attests its truth. Frenchmen witnessed to the facts: Normans cavilled. But clamour favoured the royal plaintiff. Other causes got hearing.

W. Malm.

Hildegarde Countess of Poitou, against her husband—the satirical and profligate wit, William IX.—concerning breach of marriage:—he had fain found a convent of prostitutes, with precedence and degrees after the manner of universities. 'Ouen of the beard,' Bishop of Evreux, against Amaury de Montfort, touching the conflagration above narrated, which, in manifest falsehood, he transferred from himself and King Henry to the injured count.

Ante, p. 175.

The Pope then spake some wholesome words; shewing, that amid worldly troubles, none could devote themselves adequately to spiritual concerns: that hostilities among neighbours loosened the natural Christian ties of people, and drew on many to sin. Thereupon, enjoining the 'peace of God,' he retired for a while to Meudon, twenty-five leagues off, that he might confer with the

Oct. 22.

CHAP IV.

Emperor; and on returning, weary and vexed, again presided at the council. The Kaiser had yielded many points it was said: it was even circulated that he would fain temporise; but, it is certain that, in a vein worthy of the temporal headship of Christendom, he had refused to yield the dear point of investitures. After various minor matters, cleric and lay, the council therefore, proceeded to excommunicate him to whom the Church had been taught to render all things due. Some venturing to object, the Vicar of Christ bade them be silent or separate from the Church, according to the commandment, "He that is not with me is against me." And sentence passed against Charles-Henry as on one who fought against the gospel: against Bourdin, also, the antipope, and all his abettors: and against all other contumacious impenitents. And these decrees being dictated by Cardinal John of Crema and written on parchment by John, a monk of Rouen, and read publicly by 'Chrysogonus,' received the "Fiat." Some of these, not particularised, run against simony in its many ingenious forms: against lay investiture, more severely: against all sorts of violation of ecclesiastical property: against the devises in use by prelates and rectors of their benefices: against marriage or concubinage of priests.

A.D. 1119. Oct. 26. Hoved.

S. Luke xi. 23.

Oct. 30.

Meanwhile secular affairs prospered with Henry. While he pressed Evreux, Amaury de Montfort, at intercession of Count Theobald, consented to surrender his fortress on receiving, as had been engaged, free possession of his county. Eustace, also, and Juliana coming into the presence, barefoot, friends supplicated with effect in their behalf. Hugh de Gournay, Robert de Neubourg, and other seigneurs, thus deserted, one way or other made peace. And lastly, after futile resistance, Stephen Count d'Aumale, whom, as grandson of the Conqueror's half

O. Vit. xii. 22.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1119. Ante, pp. 107-8. O. Vit. xii. 24.

after Nov. 10.

sister Adelize of Ponthieu, Robert de Mowbray, in Rufus' time, had sought to set on the throne of England. Thus, they who had revolted in favour of the Clito, returned under the tyrant's yoke. And the heroism and the ruin of half a generation expressed itself worthless. Presently Calixtus met Henry at Gisors; and, opening the grievances of Normandy, urged redintegration of Duke Robert and his son; but after hearkening patiently, he professed himself content. It were tedious to traverse the royal pleas: yet the dishonesty of them—which could hardly have escaped a political pontiff and a Frenchman—should be noted. Henry denied having dispossessed his brother and nephew by reason that, strictly speaking, they had not been in actual possession: in fact they had suffered the duchy to be overrun by marauders, and the church therein to be despoiled. He (Henry), being invited thereto by counts and bishops, had wrested the country from those usurpers, because of his father's people and of his God. He denied that he kept Robert a prisoner; declaring that he treated him rather as a noble pilgrim worn out by sufferings: asserted that, considering the Clito's infancy, he had acted with generous forbearance towards him, and had often invited his nephew, in a friendly way; promising to be a father to him: farther had offered him three English earldoms. Finally, in fundamental justification of his pretences, he adduced the very catastrophe resulting therefrom: "Fields uncultivated, homes burnt, churches in ruins, a people mourning." His holiness required no more on that head! And, in the matter of the French king's complaint, Henry could afford to place himself gracefully under direction of one so discriminating and favourable. So the kings, when brought face to face,

A.D., 1120. J. Cont. Wig. Hoved.

made peace. On Louis accepting the Ætheling William as his vassal, the chief men of Normandy homaged the heir of England. Dungeons opened, soldiers wended away. Affairs returned to the '*status quo ante;*' except that Henry now held Normandy under suzerain authority, and by sanction of Holy Church, that Duke Robert lay in Cardiff, De Belésme in Wareham, De Mortagne in London: that the Clito continued in exile, and that death and mutilations had inflicted irreparable injuries on humanity.

One point remains: Henry's retraction of his oath not to accept Thurstan as Archbishop of York. The Pope offered dispensation; but the King, with a higher, if not more charitable, sense, refused: "Who, then, will believe my word, if I should forfeit it herein?" Yet learning how serviceable the elect had been in bringing about the general peace, Henry relented, and next year welcomed Thurstan to York.

Eadmer Hist. Nov.

Hoved.

A whole year elapsed in which the discordant feelings and interests of Normandy modulated: and now, happy in reaching the goal of his ambition and of his covetousness, King Henry prepared to resume the government of his long-neglected realm.

Nov. 1119.

Nov. 1120.

CHAPTER V.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1120. Nov. 24-25.

O. Vit. xii. 25.

HAVING set all in order for embarkation, troops—probably English mercenaries—and a company of knights and esquires—Normans, Bretons, Flemings, I apprehend—whom he purposed to benefice in England, Henry, with his court, rendezvoused at Barfleur. One Thomas, son of Stephen Fitz Eirarde, coming into the presence, offered a golden mark and claimed privilege as royal ferryman. His father, he stated, had, in his own ship, conveyed the Conqueror on his invasion of England, had ever served with credit and been rewarded accordingly. The fact of pilotage may have been so; Stephen son of Eirarde being a tenant in capita in Berks: but it is not less certain that Duchess Matilda procured and fitted up that red-sailed bottom (Mora) in which Duke William came a-viking hither. King Henry, however, recognised the privilege; and, since he had already chosen the ship in which he would sail, graciously entrusted to this hereditary mariner 'those whom he loved as himself! his sons William and Richard' and others of his family and friends.

Domesd.

Ante, p. 16.

In calm and daylight the fleet stood out to sea. But, on Prince William's gift of three muids of wine, his captain and sailors drank to drunkenness and delayed. Some casks of wine and the royal treasure —no cargo else—occupied the hold: probably, there was lack of ballast. Three pilots, fifty experienced

rowers, and an armed band of marines (*schippæ*)—I know not whether these include or exclude the 'soldiers' ascertained at 140 in number—formed the crew. By the king's command, many barons with their sons took passage in the 'Blanche Nef' (*candida navis*), and there sailed with the Ætheling of England his half brother, Richard of military renown, and his half-sister Matilda wife of Rotrou, Count of Perche: Richard d'Abrincis, Earl of Chester and his wife, Matilda of Blois, the king's niece: Othere the earl's bastard brother, governor and tutor of the king's youngest son, unnamed: Diederic, a boy, nephew of the emperor: 'two beautiful sons of Ivo de Grantmesnil' lord of Leicester: William, son of Robert de Rhuddlan: William Bigod (elder brother of Hugh afterwards Earl of East Anglia), and William de Pirou the king's steward: Gisulph, the king's secretary: Geoffrey Riddel: Hugh de Moulines: Robert Mauconduit (Mauduit): Walter d'Evreux: Geoffrey Archdeacon of Hereford, Ralf the Red, Gilbert de Hiesmes, Geoffrey son of Gilbert de l'Aigle, with many and more of distinction—the young England and the young Normandy of the period—girls and boys, 'several noble women with no small number of the king's children,' two sons and three nephews of Roger, Bishop of Coutances, butchers, bakers, butlers, in all about three hundred souls.

Hoved. O. Vit. J. Cont. Wig. Hoved. Wend. A.S.Chron.

Theobald, Count of Blois, ailing of diarrhœa, had left the ship, and with his knights, Ro. de Sauqueville and Walter, sailed with the king. Stephen, his brother, Count of Mortagne, with two men-at-arms attendant, William de Roumere, Rabel the chamberlain, Edward of Salisbury, two monks of Tyron, aud several others, observing the vessel to be overcrowded by riotous headstrong youths, debarked. Later, the soldiers boarding, thrust

O. Vit. ut supra.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1120.

the rowers from their benches, and, waxing disorderly, jeered away priests and sacristans who, according to pious use, would have blessed the voyagers and sprinkled holy water on men and things about to be imperilled of the sea.

Confident that he would yet surpass the fleet already in the offing, captain gave signal, sailors haled ropes, sails, oars, boisterously. All, surfeited and dazed, launched on the giddy waves; and to song and revel-shouts the 'Blanche Nef' wildly stemmed the tide. Rowers pulled cup-valiantly, pilot steered at random; and presently, the pretty craft, careening, crashed on the Raz de Catteville. A fearful sound, as her starboard bow stove in, gave pause and sense: a distressful cry—heard on shore, if not in the fleet also—betrayed the deadly hazard. On weedy rocks, bare at ebb, now surfed, oars brake or tangled: boat-hooks, desperately plied, availed not. The prow wedged in a cleft, between two burst planks, the sea gushed in amain. Big waves washed the deck; pouring streams drowned men below; of screaming, writhing, gasping, by tens, by scores, the waters made an end. And the scarfed barque, filling to the board, became a scarfed hull of anguish and despair. Some, in cooled wit, lowered a boat; and, for a moment, the hope of England lived. But a sister's voice, shrill amid that passionate din, recalled; and the prince, a brother, backed and went down with Maude, swamped by a multitude eager for life as she. Then Othere, folding his royal charge, sunk with him. Deeper and deeper the 'Blanche Nef' settled, logging to the ooze: heavier surges rolled; swirls, draughts, spray and foam, darkness and cold, unnerving, overwhelming. 'Doomed, doomed to the abyss! purple and fine linen to rot in the depths; the

W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, v.

O. Vit.

children of kings to be food for fish. The nobles, the wealth, the glory, the grace of form, all covered by the ocean. For each soul, past and future sundered!' CHAP. V. A.D. 1120.

Of two men clinging to the yard-arm, Thomas, yet afloat, asked "What of my lord?" and, on the answer, plunged. It had been 'shame and wretchedness to survive'—so the generous captain is reported.

Cold and dark that S. Catherine's eve. And in flush of youth and joy, or, as is insisted, of vigorous, vicious manhood, had perished 300 comrades. Cold, dark and long, that November night—the moon waning to last quarter. Out upon the dreary vast, gentle Geoffrey de l'Aigle and Berthold, butcher of Rouen, dangled in the shrouds. They prayed: spake hopefully; longing, as none but the shipwrecked and the sick-bed watcher longs, for day. Colder ere dawn—to very freezing. And the delicate scion, weary, benumbed, commending his companion to the Merciful, dropped. Only the ruddy churl, clad in pelt—himself the offal of the passengers—could tell three fishermen the story of the 'Blanche Nef's' foundering. A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig. O. Vit. ut supra.

On the sad strand of Mortagne lingered, fatherlike, a prelate. He had seen the white sail reef itself in gloom: had seen the cresset lower and veil: had heard the carol and the merry peals fading and faint: the last 'haroo.' Heard, too, unweeting, that distressful cry. They whom he loved, made little of the good man's blessing, yet he watched. And many a parent, many a child, many wives, betrothed, loving, peered, hearkened, prayed that night.

With morning light the evil tidings spread. And, while the faithful celebrated S. Catherine, virgin and martyr, busy coasters dragged the wreck ashore, hove up the royal treasure and the cargo. Currents buoyed Nov. 25.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1120.

the Earl of Chester's corpse with others to and fro, and, after many days, cast them on beaches far away; but neither swimmer nor diver, though dearly guerdoned, brought a body to Christian burial on the sad strand of Mortagne.

The evil tidings spread across the Channel, where mourning magnates muffled their miseries in presence of him whose grief they expected would be royal. But, from a child of Count Theobald's sent weeping to his feet, the king learned the common loss; his own bereavement. At the acmé of his triumph, in the centre of glorious surroundings, *Nemesis* stood revealed! Henry fell on the ground. They led him to his chamber and they left him to his woe—to the aweful bitterness of memories and of fancy. Not Jacob sorrowing for Joseph, not David for Amnon or Absalom, moaned otherwise. Henry would sigh for his children, lament his barons and the flower of his land: with tears, speak of Ralf the Red and of Gilbert d'Hiesmes; but no man, thereafter, saw him smile.

Beyond the radii of private heartache, popular imagination suffered. Imagination, rather than loyalty or self-interest. And the calamity, as experienced by the country, has been exaggerated, monkishly; since, from the various sources, we can count but few territorial chiefs. Here and there feudal relations may have been affected; locally the executive may have failed a while. Certain feofs lying in abeyance, within such, mean tenancies would stand insecurely; and, where the lord had deceased, vassals had become subject to customary payments in the heir's behalf. But the proportion of any, or of all of these, to the baronage at large must have been inconsiderable. Again: the heir-apparent's death cut off lawful succession to the throne. But though England had looked on its

CHAP. V.

Ætheling as, in some sort, representing the native dynasty, it recently had thought him unworthy of the crown. Contemporary notices of this disaster, while briefly expressing the general shock, suggest little sympathy: later reports intimate on Prince William's part hauteur, aversion to the folk, unnaturalisms. Convinced, then, of divine judgment in the matter, the realm ceased to regret, and desolate hearts comforted themselves in hope that, at cost of their lives, the sinners might be redeemed. In fact, the routine of life adjusted itself betimes. Remainder men entered into possession: the *king* had estates to grant away; and, after nine weeks' mourning, Henry himself, who had lost his heir and many children, married with special view to male issue and to chastity.

A.D. 1120.
A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig. H. Hunt. W. Malm. R. Wend. J. Brompton, col. 1013. H. Hunt. Ep. ad Gualt. O. Vital xii. 26.

J. Cont. Wig.

Though the dramatic interest end here, the true action of this reign extends. For history has dramatic scenes, but is not a drama: has many crises, rarely a catastrophe. Even in following the panegyrists, Henry's character still appears unadmirable. We have doubted his royalty, his knightliness, his clerkship; and we confirm our opinion in these respects when we come to notice that selfish dealing with his realm which made the anarchy of the next age possible. Successful in his projects, servile, apparently, to Rome, above all favourable to monks, Henry escapes such censure as overwhelms, perhaps distorts, the real quality of his brother William; and, by contrast with the riot of Stephen's time, he appears in our chronicle as a champion of order, 'the Lion of Justice,' the just man who stretched the cloth ell to the length of his own arm. Yes: of his own arm. History, however, reduces metaphor to truth or rejects it. These sonorous titles fail. The brute's ferocity is known; its generous

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1120–21.

instincts are fabulous. With the spirit's triumph over the abnormal, this king had naught to do. Robert grovelling at Cardiff, Juliana freezing in the moat, picture for us the unmerciful one, slight traces of whose equity are overshadowed by constant rigour, which the sombre form of blinded Mortagne and the dim fate of Belésme illustrate prominently: where, too, exhaustive taxings, bloody penalties, crowd and stain the limnings of his rule; and the vulgar colours of ambition and money-love lie all too thick and close to that cold neglect of his country which had been the true feature to be presented. 'Whenever it became known in a place that the king was coming, the inhabitants fled from their houses and sheltered in the woods.' 'Querulous multitudes thronged the court or met the royal cheaters on the way, offering their ploughs in token of ruined husbandry.' Certés, therefore, the propensities of the freebooter survived in him. He coveted mainly; but with a caution; preferring state craft to force. We have yet to see in what and how far the first Henry surpassed his brother and his father in administration of the realm.

W. Malm. Eadmer, p. 94. Selden, ad Eadm. 216. Dialog. de Scacc.

W. Malm. de Gestis Regum, v.

A.D. 1121. Jan. 6. J. Cont. Wig. A.S.Chron. Eadmer. P. and C. E. S.

'That he might not lead a dissolute life,' by advice of Primate Ralf and of the barons, Henry sent envoys to Godfrey VII. Count of Louvaine (by favour of the emperor, Duke of Lower Lorraine and Marquess of Antwerp), demanding in marriage his daughter Athelis (Alice). And the princess, arriving speedily at Windsor, received, with signal pomp, nuptial benediction at the hands of William Bishop of Winchester, and, on the next day, consecration and the crown from the archbishop. In London, at Pentecost, the king and queen sate in state at the board, 'the bride's beauty dazzling her diadem.' In summer, the Welsh,

Jan. 29.

Jan. 30.

H. Hunt.

emboldened by vacancy of the earldom, burst the Chester marches. And Henry in person led forth an army; met Griffyth in Powis; and, on falling into an ambush, was wounded in the breast. Unaccountably, however, this campaign—of which there remains but questionable memorial—issued in Welsh peace, and on the king's own terms; viz., hostages and 1,000 head of cattle. And once again, 'the whole of Wales acknowledged the dominion of England.' CHAP. V. A.D. 1121–23. A.S.Chron. Powel. J. Cont. Wig.

But more serious events occurred. The Count of Anjou, returning from Jerusalem, sent to fetch home his daughter; requiring also restitution of her dowry. The demand—honest, since the marriage with Prince William had not been consummated—involved Henry's relinquishment of Le Mayne and of the Cotentin. Moreover, the fact that Henry had no male heir tended to disquiet Normandy and to resuscitate the Clito's claims. We have no note of any response to Fulke. The king kindly treated his daughter-in-law, and would fain have married her to some faithful magnate. Under all surroundings she was a valuable pawn. He retained her at the present: but the child, while scarcely thirteen years of age, devoted herself; and, after a time, becoming Abbess of Fontevrault, deceased. On the other hand affairs in the duchy gave alarm. Amaury de Montfort, Count d'Evreux, still hankering after his citadel, and 'embittered by seeing the royal bailiffs harass his people,' now prevailed on the Count of Anjou to betroth his younger daughter, Sibylla, to Duke Robert's son; and Fulke, receiving the Clito on those terms, gave him Le Mayne as marriage dowry, till he should recover his hereditary domains. Amaury, farther advantaged by 'the general levity of Normans,' engaged many to revolt; Waleran Count of Meulan, William de Rou- A.S.Chron. A.D. 1122. O. Vit. xii. 33. A.D. 1128. A.D. 1150–54. A.D. 1122–23.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1122-23.

mere, Hugh de Montfort (Risle), Hugh de Chateauneuf en Themerais, William Louvel Sieur d' Ivri, Baudic de Brai, Paganus de Gisors and others unnamed.

Roumere, having been refused his mothers' land which Ralf de Bayeux (Meschines) had exchanged with the king for the earldom of Chester and the lordship of Corby, stands justified in some sort: but the incitement to rebellion in the heir of that Robert de Bellomont whom Henry had so deservedly esteemed is of uncertain origin. The king had brought up the brothers Waleran and Robert as though they had been his own sons, had knighted them; putting the elder in possession of all his father's feofs, the county of Mellent or Meulan in France and the territory of Beaumont, Brionne and Pont Audemar, in Normandy; granting to the younger the earldom of Leicester with its appurtenances, and giving him in marriage Amice, daughter of Ralf de Guader, together with Bréteuil and the lands held under it for her dowry. Notwithstanding, Waleran strengthened the king's adversaries, bestowing his sisters Adeliza, Amice, and Aubrey, upon Hugh de Montfort, Hugh de Neufchatel and William Louvel, respectively. And the confederates met at Waleran's manour La Croix S. Leuffroy. The date of Henry's *liaison* with Elizabeth de Bellomont is unknown: if it were not the means of alienating Waleran, it may have effected his redintegration at a later time.

A.D. 1123. Sept.

June.

Now the king had come to Normandy before midsummer—as it would seem in the matters between him and the Count of Anjou. And, being at Rouen, one Sunday after dinner, he marched forth in power; none knowing wherefore. Suddenly calling to his presence Hugh de Montfort, he required of him instant resignation of his fortress. Hugh, surprised, denayed not.

Oct. A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig. O. Vit. xii. 34.

Nevertheless, as he rode with those who should have received the keys, he spurred through forest byeways; and, bidding his brother and his wife hold out against the royal arms, bore his tidings at a gallop on to Brionne. The king advanced on Montfort, within two days reduced the town to ashes and took all forts except the tower, yet, though assaulting often, failed to quell the garrison. After a month, he accepted terms from the besieged, and would fain have made peace with De Montfort himself, offering to his wife and child 'the open part of the domains' if only he would return to allegiance. CHAP. V. A.D. 1123.

And then he marched on Pont Audemar. The town, large and rich, soon kindled and soon vanished in its own smoke. Howbeit French knights held the fort; and for six or seven weeks contemned all machinations of the adversary. The king himself anxiously conducted the siege; as if yet young, animating the troops and the engineers; teaching carpenters to build a *Berfrey* that should top the walls; in pleasant vein chiding and encouraging all. At length, by frequent attacks—possibly by effecting exhaustion—he brought the garrison to capitulate. And the importance of this act—assuredly perceived by Henry—may be inferred from the fact that there marched out with horse and baggage, Louis of Senlis grand butler of France, Harcher, the grand cuisinier, Simon Tresnil or Fresnil of Poissy, Luke de la Barre, Ralf Fitz Durand; while, in their interest, Simon de Peronne, Simon de Neauffle (one of the Montfort-Amaury family), Guy Malvoison, Peter de Maule, William d' Aiguillon and nearly 200 other French men-at-arms, had raided the king's lands, hitherto, without let. Farther, pending this siege, the conspirators had attempted Gisors. Having concealed O. Vit. xii. 36. S. Dunelm. O. Vit. xii. 37.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1123-24.

troops therein, with intent to slay the king's warden and seize the tower, they invited Chandos to a parley. Other soldiers mixed among the market folk and thronged the town. Chandos delayed. Baldwin de Brai, waxing impatient, called to arms and secured the nearest gate: Chandos, unaware, now rode forth; but, alarmed at the surroundings, retired. Thereupon Amaury de Montfort and W. Crispin from the hill over against the castle, made demonstration. And here, also, the common lot of besieged bourgs befel. The garrison fired the neighbouring houses, and the flames drave the enemy from the walls. Presently, the king advancing from Pont Audemar, Paganus de Gisors and his confederates fled. Hugh, Paganus' son, being faithful, received his father's feof: but the justices sequestrated the county of Evreux and declared Amaury's inheritance forfeited therein. The gain, in this autumn campaign, had been the castle and lands of Montfort sur Risle, Pont Audemar with prestige of success, and the adherence of W. Harcourt, a scion of the Bellomonts. The royal army hibernated strongly, Ranulf of Bayeux in Evreux, Henry de Pomerei in Pont Audemar, Odo Borleg in Bernei.

O. Vit. xii. 38.

A.D. 1124. March 24-5.

In Lent, the scene of war shifted from Risle and Epte to the banks of Seine. Henry, entrenching before Vatteville, which lay in charge of Herbert and Roger de Lisieux, and eight men-at-arms, Waleran with his three brothers-in-law and Amaury convoyed provisions into the tower. The situation gave rise to a quaint affair and to doleful issue. Early one morning, some handy wight, with iron hook, drew down from Henry's ramparts, Walter de Valiquerville, commander. And intelligence of these things spreading, the king's castellans of Evreux, Pont Audemar and Bernei, in concert, rallied

O. Vit. xii. 39.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1124.

300 men-at-arms, liegemen, nigh Bourgtereude. Now the rebels, in retreat, were carrying off Walter towards Montfort-Amaury in the Pays Chartrain, when the royalists, debouching from the forest of Brotonne came in view. Each force, it would appear, overcounted the adversary. On the one part, Odo, seeing his people waver, harangued them in a loyal vein, and strengthened his infantry by dismounting many knights. On the other, Amaury, checking Waleran's ardour, discouraged the confederates. "By all the world, I would fain decline this battle. Since they be more in number than we, loss and disgrace may befal. See! Odo Borleg is on foot: so brave a man standing in the ranks tells us he will conquer or die." The voice is not the voice of Amaury: nor was such counsel followed. Contemning prudence and the dishonour of flight, the little host hailed the long wished for day when the chivalry of France and Normandy should meet the English on level ground, and quickly they ranged themselves for action.

Archers led the royalist force. Waleran, with forty spears, charging these, every man of his troop, struck by bolt or arrow, tumbled on the ground or ever a knight could thrust. Rout, instant and complete, followed; each casting away his weapon; all fleeing; Waleran and his brothers-in-law and a score or more of others surrendered on the field. While attempting escape, Amaury fell into the hands of William de Grandcourt, son of the Count d'Eu, who, having conducted him as far as Belmont, 'rather than commit one so gallant to the pitiable doom of Henry's vengeance, abandoned his king and refuged with his captive in France.' Louvel ransomed himself from a peasant at price of his armour; and, cropped like a groom, trudged staff in hand to Seine, where he paid his boots for passage.

A.S.Chron.

O. Vital. xii. 39.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1124. April.

After Easter, Henry adjudged his rebels: Waleran, Hugh Montfort, Hugh Neufchatel and nearly eighty other men-at-arms, to the dungeon; Geoffrey de Tourville, Odard du Pin and Luke de la Barre, to blindness beside.

The practice of mutilation had proceeded on an early principle of requiting crime — a sort of *lex talionis* under which the offending instrument primarily paid penalty. But Christian civilisation condemned cruelty. And the church, long contending against the bloody practices of heathen Rome, had, by this time, indoctrinated the world with some respect for bodies made in God's image. The mutualities incident to the crusades, also, had taught deference to the soldiers' and to the vassals' rights—we have had examples at Bridgenorth and elsewhere—and, clearly, at this epoch, humanity revolted from the low expedient as unworthy of the knight and of the Christian. "My lord king," said Charles Count of Flanders, then sojourning at the court, "you are doing what is abhorrent to our usages when you mutilate captives taken while in their lord's service." It lay not in Henry, however, to submit his will to the dictates of religion or of gentle manners. Justice his plea, he would exact the uttermost farthing. He who suffered his own grandchildren to be defaced would surely demand the bloody forfeit. Suavely he replied, "Sir Count, I do what is right, and I will prove it. Geoffrey and Odard became my liegemen by their lord's consent: breaking faith with me, they subjected themselves to death or mutilation." But since sophistry, not reason, prevailed, the point must be pressed. None but a villein of lowest grade could be so transferred. Truly the conqueror of England had constrained the oaths of sub-vassals as against all men—their lords included;

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1124.

but that act, regarded as infamous here, had been impossible in strictly feudal Normandy. And the recent capitulations of Montfort, of Pont Audemar, and of all other fortresses within the duchy, attest the fact. Again: when Duke Robert transferred the Count of Evreux 'as an horse or an ox'—so men perceived—only the suzerainty passed to Henry. All mesne tenancies of the county survived without prejudice. Count William's treason operated not on his vassals' persons or estates. But the real incentive to this barbarity is declared. If liegemen becoming false deserved, why should Luke de la Barre suffer? "He never did me homage; but he stood in arms against me at Pont Audemar; and though, on peace, I excused all forfeitures, he rejoined my enemies. Besides, he sang scurrilous verses on me and made me ridiculous to his comrades." The admission, if exact, requires no comment. Luke had done good service by times: had, as a knight, defended his lord's castle and partaken of the known conditions of an honourable capitulation. But as a trouvere he had expressed wittily the popular sense of Henry's character. The butchers did their office on Geoffrey and on Odard; but Luke, proudly wrestling, dashed out his own brains against the wall. And, to the tyrant's prejudice, the knightly poet's last act and the cause of it survives his satire. When, after Henry's decease, William de Mortagne, monk of Bermondsey, lay on the bier, men discovered with horror that the Earl had been blinded by his royal cousin. And rumour—perhaps too credulous,—spread that Duke Robert—certainly sightless in old age—had likewise suffered at his brother's hand.

O. Vit. xii. 39.

Brompton's Chron.? sed confer Ann. Bermond. ff. 10b. et 14b. Matt. Westm. sub anno 1106. April.

Meantime, Morin du Pin, Waleran's steward, having put his lord's castle in defence, the king attacked

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1124.

Brionne, burnt the village and the churches; and, overawing the castle by two extemporised forts, quickly obtained surrender. Upon which he thrust out the commander's eyes; notwithstanding that he had not sworn allegiance to him nor made scurrilous songs on him. The garrison of Vatteville then making terms, he rased that tower to the ground. Beaumont yet remained. But, the king treating with his prisoner, disheartened Waleran gave up this his last stronghold; and faithful Morin passed to ruin and exile. Removed to dungeons in England—first Bridgenorth then Wallingford—the Count de Meulan and his brother-in-law Hugh de Neufchatel wasted five years of youth. But groaning in fetters at Windsor, none venturing to entreat for him, Hugh de Montfort wore out life.

A.S.Chron.

O. Vit. xii. 40.

Within the week that dates the catastrophe of Bourgtereude, or Rougemontier as it should be called, seven lords of castles in neighbouring Lisieux and Evrault rose and rallied; and, Hugh de Plessis having got Pont Echauffé by stratagem, the castellans of Sap, Bienfaite, Orbec and other forts, levied. Overthrow of the magnates and the dire vengeance wreaked on them and theirs brought all these to peace. And then, abettors failing, even Louvel and Amaury himself reconciled. The Clito had not any open adherent in the duchy. Louis, indeed, had countenanced the Count de Montfort and the French knights, and would fain have aided in person, had not Henry prevailed on the emperor to make a demonstration on the borders of France. On the other hand, the Count of Anjou, alarmed at England's advances—or otherwise prevailed on—retreated from his compact. William, thrust again from his native land, still accompanied by Hélie de S. Saens and Tirel de Manières, wandered from cot-

Cf. Lapp. 335.

O. Vit. xii. 41.

tage to cottage, from convent to convent, a burden to himself and to the charitable. CHAP. V.

For a while, by reason of his son's death, Henry had lost sight of the diadem of Anjou and Mayne. More recently, the betrothal of his nephew with Sibylla had farther closed in his vision of extending sway. He had experienced the futility of treaties, the defection of friends, and Normandy itself in potent insurrection. Yet at this dark hour, hope dawned. While his arms demolished castles, his intrigues dissipated enemies. Envoys to Utrecht, envoys to Angiers, envoys to Rome —and without doubt the all-prevailing English gold— worked out his ends, dispelled the lowering clouds and brightened the horizon. Louis marched towards his Lorraine frontier. Fulke disarmed. And the Pope prohibited the obnoxious marriage. Anjou and Le Mayne again came in view. And Henry's ambition forced itself into a new channel quickly. The Emperor, last of the Thuringian line, had died, leaving his wife, King Henry's daughter, childless. A.D. 1124–25. May 23. A.D. 1125. Cf. Hoved.

But in the interval I return to English history.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1121–23. A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig.

In common form the chronicles tell of signs foreshewing death of prelates. The dull round of life as perceived from the grate, its tedious sameness only relieved by fires and winds, northern lights and fabulous incidents. For in truth, wars, the affairs of nations, the curiosities of nature, even genealogies of benefactors, existed for the monk as an outside world, penetrable to the ingenious only, while the business and directer interests of his convent—subordinately of church affairs at large—occupied the refectory mind. Of national character, of jurisprudence, of the sentiments, the faculties, the habits, whence history should derive material, few, passing few, had perception. And the student, athirst for knowledge in these things, must wave aside the vegetation which obstructs the fountain.

An. Wint. 1122.

A singular exhibition of ecclesiastical humour took place at Winchester: the bishop had estreated some nine churches on the monks of S. Swithun's manours; and they, to signify this subversion of canon and right, went in procession in a direction contrary to the sun's course, carrying the crucifixes upside down.

A.D. 1123. Jan. 9. A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig. H. Hunt.

The king being at Woodstock in his deer park, riding, the bishops Roger of Sarum on one side, and Robert of Lincoln on the other, in converse, the latter sank down exclaiming, "My lord king I am dying." And Henry alighting took the old man in his arms, and bade bear him

to his inn, and stood beside him. And soon the prelate, speechless, struck by apoplexy, expired. One humane and humble, who raised the fortunes of many and crushed none: the orphan's father, the clerk's patron, beloved by all who surrounded him. CHAP. VI. A.D. 1123–24.

Primate Ralf had deceased. But while the suffragan bishops objected that a monk should be set over them, the lay magnates sided with the Canterbury electors. So the king accepted William Curboil, canon of Chiche or S. Osythe, Essex, an Augustine, and gat him consecrated archbishop. But because of this infraction of the monks' privilege, the Pope hid his face from primate William, till 'that which overcometh all the world, *viz.* gold and silver, overcame Rome also,' when his holiness, relenting, gave William the pall and his blessing. A.D. 1122. Oct. 19. A.D. 1123. Feb. 2. P. and C. E. 9. Feb. 16. A.S.Chron.

Out of the love he bore his chancellor, the king gave the see of Lincoln to Alexander nephew of Roger Bishop of Sarum. And afterwards Henry sailed for Normandy and continued there for the rest of that year, and during the next year, and into the year following; warring against the Counts of Meulan and Montfort or against the French or Angevins, but mostly against his own revolters, as we have seen. There happened here, meantime, much unseasonable weather, to injury of corn and fruits. Between Christmas and Candlemas, seed, enough to sow one acre with wheat, cost six shillings; barley the same, oats four shillings. And the fact is preserved that while two seedlips 'went' to the acre in wheat, three in barley, four in oats, were in use. Corn was scarce. The pennies were so bad that he who had a pound of such at the market could scarcely pass twelve thereof. Add to which, shortly before winter, Ralf Basset, king's justiciary, and the king's thegns (barons) held a witenagémot—a sort of gaol Easter. A.D. 1123–4, 5. A.S.Chron. A.D. 1124. A.S.Chron.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1124–25.

delivery, in this case, under commission—at Huncothoe in Leicestershire, and there hanged four-and-forty thieves and mutilated six others, malefactors. The number 'at one time' seems to have been beyond precedent; and the chronicler's comment is noteworthy. 'Men of truth said that several of these suffered unjustly. But our Lord God Almighty, who seeth and knoweth all hidden things, is aware that this miserable people is oppressed. First men are bereaved of their property: then are they slain. A heavy year! Such as had means were assessed and taxed to their ruin: such as had nothing, starved.'

A.D. 1125.

And bloody precepts ruled. From Normandy, without trial had, the 'Lion of Justice' condemned every moneyer in England to one outrageous penalty. And the chancellor obeyed the edict to the height, bidding them to Winchester, and, sparing but three, cut off the hands and more beside of all the rest. Pitylessly: for, as some said, 'A man might have a pound and yet not be able to spend a penny in market, so base had grown the coin.' Yet was the coin in the king's coffers notably pure. Moreover, this year proved of greatest scarcity within memory. A horse-load of corn sold for six shillings, *i.e.* ninety shillings, modern rate.

Ann. Winton.

J. Cont. Wig. Hoved. H. Hunt.

Christmas.

A.S. Chron. J. Cont. Wig. H. Hunt. Ann. Wint.

But, pending these griefs, the hierarchy indulged itself with the advent of a cardinal. For the nonce, prelates and clergy of each degree forgot the common notion of legatine interference; and John of Crema, priest of the holy and apostolic church—with style of S. Chrysogonus—having been received pompously at Canterbury, progressed through every diocese of the realm, accepting worthy gifts from all hands.

Easter.

Sept. 9.

Two archbishops, twenty bishops, about forty abbots, and a concourse of minor clergy and people, assisting,

CHAP. VI.

the legate presided at a synod in Westminster. He sanctioned Anselm's decrees touching simony, investiture, inheritance in church property: farther, prohibited clerks, while unordained, from holding benefices; and reiterating anathema against priests' wives and concubines, censured all marriages beyond the canon. "*Placetne vobis?*" "Are ye content?" he asked three several times: and, none gainsaying, repeated his '*placet*' and 'Amen.' Seventeen articles, mostly inconvenient, were now added to men's conscience. But the elasticity of the English spirit accepted, modified, thwarted at will. And the archdeacon, son of a priest, chuckled when exposing that 'simular man of virtue' who, against God's law, forbade natural heart-yearnings to clerks. 'Now as Moses reveals the sins as well as the virtue of his people: *e. g.* Lot's incest and Reuben's, the treacherous murders by Simeon and Levi, and the patriarchs' cruelty to Joseph their brother: so, it lies on me to write the evil and the good. And, should I therein offend a Roman, even a prelate, let him hold his peace or be deemed a disciple of John of Crema. For this cardinal who in the sacred council inveighed against the wives of priests, saying it were pollution for one to rise from a woman's bed and straightway consecrate Christ's body; having himself that day elevated the holy host, was that very night discovered in act of the grosser sin. The fact could not be denied. And it is not right that it should be hidden.' With the beam in his eye, shamed, confused, Cardinal John of Crema went to his place, having verified our conception of Roman morals, experimentally.

A.D. 1125. H. Hunt.

Shortly, however, our prelates perceived danger in this legatine authority. And the archbishops with the

CHAP. VI.

Bishops of Lincoln and of Glasgow and the Abbot of S. Alban's followed as a deputation; who, being honourably entreated by Honorius, procured for the metropolitan see of Canterbury the office of Pope's vicar-general in England and Scotland and of perpetual legate from S. Peter's chair. A year, this, also, of famine and disease among men and cattle. Towns deluged, folk drowned, bridges broken up, cornfields, meadows, spoiled by flood on S. Laurence's day.

A.D. 1125. A.D. 1127. A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig.

Aug. 10.

A.D. 1126. A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig.

Yet the king staid in Normandy till after the next harvest, arriving, just before Michaelmas, with the Queen Alice and his daughter the widow empress. And shortly, David the Scots' king came and remained here many months. And by advice of Matilda and of David her uncle, the king took his brother Duke Robert from custody of Bishop Roger and delivered him to his own bastard Robert Earl of Gloster, who removed him to Bristol and confined him in the castle there. Hence it would appear that renewed insurrection in Normandy might be looked for. For, while from a quasi honourable captivity Robert passed under military restraint, Waleran and his brothers-in-law lay separately in the strongest fortresses of England. And the fact is that events on the Continent justified alarm.

A.D. 1126-27. P. and C.E. 9. J. Cont. Wig.

At Christmas, the court being at Windsor, a '*curia*' assembled in which the whole nobility of England represented itself. And, according to use at that season, the king ware his crown. By the way it is recorded that when the Archbishop of York, who, customarily, at that feast set on the diadem, would have officiated, it was ruled that 'nothing pertaining to the royal crown belonged to him. And, moreover, that neither metropolitan should have his cross borne

before him beyond the limits of his own province. The Roman idea of subordination may be perceived in the point raised first, the native principle of equality in the second. But, however just the opinion of those 'skilled in ecclesiastical law,' decision haled on triumph; and, without respect for the sacred symbol or yet for the holy place, Canterbury clerks thrust out the York cross-bearer and the cross he carried. And at this '*curia*,' when removed to London, the king, by this time hopeless of male issue, took oath of all the chief men, lay and cleric, that, in case he should have no son born in wedlock, they would, after his decease, sustain his daughter Matilda in the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy. 'All who were considered of note took this oath. And first of all William Archbishop of Canterbury; next the other bishops and the abbots in like manner. The first of the laity who sware was David King of Scots, uncle of the empress: then Stephen of Blois Count of Mortagne, nephew of King Henry by his sister Adela: then Robert, the king's son who was born to him before he came to the throne and whom he had created Earl of Gloster.'

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1126-27.

January, A.D. 1127. A.S.Chron. J. Cont. Wig.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. I.

There is enough evidence that, at this time, many magnates sware fealty to Matilda, and it may be that they bound themselves to the effect stated: but the particulars as quoted above and the implication of Stephen therein rest on authority of a single voice. The point is of historical import, and I revert to it on occasion.

P. and C. E. 9.

Post, p. 226.

At this moment, however, affairs in the opposite quarter rise to notice. The Clito's prospects brightened. His contract with Sibylla being broken (through Henry's means), he now wedded Jeanne, daughter of

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1127.

Adelaide queen dowager of France by her second husband Rainier Count of Montferrat; and King Louis, by way of portion, granted to William Pontoise, Chaumont, Mantes and all the Vexin—the very district most ardently coveted by King Henry. Moreover, when William marched on Gisors, laying claim on the border to the duchy, the Normans respected him as their natural lord. And farther, on death of their count, the Flemings chose him for their chief.

O. Vit. xii. 45.

These incidents bear upon King Henry's character, and require detail. Charles 'the good'—he who had remonstrated in the matter of mutilations—attended by some twenty men-at-arms, went to mass in the church at Bruges. While he knelt before the altar of S. Donat, Bernhard de Lille, with thirty-two men-at-arms, fell upon him and his attendants and slew him and them almost to a man. The murderers retreated to the castle. And William Viscount of Ypres blocked them therein. Gervaise the chancellor, also, with Evain de Gand and Daniel de Dendremonde and the inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, likewise besieged them. Now this William d'Ypres, baseborn son of Philip second son of Robert the Frisian Count of Flanders, had, on the death of his cousin Baldwin VII., claimed the county. And his after acts declare him still a pretender. Farther, opinion connected him with this bloody sacrilege.

Ante, p. 200.

March 1. R. Nigri. Chron. II. p. 164.

A.D. 1119.

A.D. 1127.

King Louis, suzerain lord of Flanders, when apprised of these things, taking the Clito by the way, advanced on Bruges. In his presence, the estates, sitting at Arras, elected William, Clito of Normandy, to be their count, and subsequently confirmed the same at Bruges. And Louis, on accepting William as his feudary, received back at his hands the Vexin and fortresses above named. Shortly, the besieged murderers surrendered at discre-

March 25, 26. April 2. Fr. Ed. note. O. Vit.

CHAP. VI.

tion; and Louis taking the Viscount of Ypres prisoner shut him up in Lille.

A.D. 1127. April 19. April 26. H. Hunt. R. Hoved. A.S.Chron.

Now while King Henry sojourned at Woodstock, in Lent, one told him that Charles, Count of Flanders, his dearest friend, had been assassinated, and that the King of France had bestowed the county on the Clito, who avenged his predecessor on the conspirators. And these things troubled Henry. He held a council. And at Pentecost he sent his daughter, the empress, over sea, accompanied by Robert Earl of Gloster, her half-brother, and Brian fitz-Count, bastard son of Alan Fergant (?) Count of Bretagne, and caused her to be betrothed to Geoffrey son of the Count of Anjou. The act, which 'displeased all the French and the English,' though hastened by events now passing, had been long while secretly resolved. Since Fulke's return from Jerusalem the 'to have or not to have' had been the uppermost question. Henry had retained his son William's spouse, and with her a factitious claim on Le Mayne as her dower—a presumptive pretence under eventualities to Anjou also. On no other ground could the child have been kept from her father. Geoffrey's existence, indeed, had been a legal bar—not, to statecraft and the opportune pressure of arms, an insurmountable barrier; for the imagination of a covetous man admits no obstacles.

But, though the interval between Prince William's death and the emperor's death may have been to Henry a term of despondency—his ambition foundering in shallows — he presently perceived in the union of Matilda with Fulke's heir a new and straighter channel to his haven. This should transcend all imaginary titles. Buoyed up hereon, England should yet cast anchor in the roads of Anjou, and weighing thence, the stream of aggrandisement should waft him coast-

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1127.

wise to the Pyrenees. It had been Rufus' vaunt; his 'vast project.' And without doubt it was Henry's mature purpose. The Clito's rights, and the general acknowledgment of those rights, and the expediency of securing Normandy as basis of operation, had intervened. And the combinations of France and Anjou had heretofore thwarted these plans. But now that William had entered the family of Louis, and had been accepted as count in Flanders, the balance of power, as understood, demanded some makeweight on Henry's part to poise the enhanced interests of Duke Robert's heir. On the other hand, Fulke's easy acquiescence in the divorce of his daughter Sibylla, his languid remonstrance under the detention of his elder child, the inconstancy of his warrings in Le Mayne and in Normandy, evidence that he had long while been subject to King Henry's influence; and, referring to that agreement by which, in the event of his not returning from Jerusalem, he made over his county to the *Ætheling* of England, we may presume a rapport that has hitherto escaped direct notice. The fact that by that marriage-treaty Fulke would have disinherited his heir-apparent raises difficulties not yet soluble.

O. Vit. xii. 48.

Aug. 20.

Wend.

The ceremony of betrothal having been hastily performed by Turgis Bishop of Avranches, Henry followed his daughter to Normandy. And, after knighting his son-in-law, 'a most elegant young man,' with five young gentles of Anjou, arranged the terms. And Fulke, departing once more for Zion, of which he presently became king, the inheritance of Anjou and its dependency,

Fr. Ed. note.

O. Vit. xii. 48.

Le Mayne, passed into possession of Count Geoffrey. But Geoffrey had only just attained his fourteenth year. Consummation of the marriage deferred itself for nigh two years. Meanwhile King Henry sojourned in Nor-

mandy. The Angevin vineyard lay to hand, and yet another garden of herbs disquieted him. He claimed Flanders as (through his mother Matilda) grandson of Baldwin V.; ignoring Duke Robert his eldest brother and the Clito; ignoring, too, the nearer heir, Diederic of Biche, son of the Count of Alsace by Gertrude daughter of Robert the Frisian. But the Flemings had made their election.

O. Vit. xii. 45. Vita Caroli, Com. Fl. MS. See Hardy, Cat. B. H. ii. No. 221.

Jealousy rather than any sense of self-interest demonstrates a fixed purpose in Henry to persecute the Clito. He sent troops under his nephew Stephen, who, by fire and sword, convulsed the country. Measures less direct certify his animosity. The province groaned by reason of the murderers' doom, 111 of whom, regardless of nobility, power, penitence, had been cast headlong from the tower of Bruges or by other cruelties destroyed. Many conspirators against Count William also had been put to death. Henry, hopeless on his own part, wantonly raised up adversaries to his nephew. Through Evain and Daniel and magnates offended privately with their Count, and through others whom he found exasperated by the ignominy of their friends, and through Gertrude-Petronilla Countess of Holland, Henry now strenuously advanced the cause of Diederic of Biche.

Feb. 1128. Fr. Ed. note.

Presently Diederic with Lambert Count of Clermont marching into Flanders, by consent of the people, took Lille, Furnes, Gand and other forts, while Stephen, by this time in his wife's right Count of Boulogne, a Flemish feof, whether affected by any chivalrous sense or otherwise, joined hands with William his cousin. The Count of Flanders now led his forces to Alost, before which, in some immaterial quarrel, Godfrey of Louvaine, King Henry's brother-in-law, had already sate

O. Vital. ut supra. July.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1128. O. Vit. xii. 45.

down. And William and Godfrey encamped together. And within the walls lay Diederic and Lambert and Evain and Daniel. Here, however, the career of the gallant youth who, robbed and exiled, had achieved renown worthy of his forefathers, came to untimely end. This is the saddest incident in the family of our Norman kings; and, I doubt not, the thoughtful and the loyal folded the hand and wept over him, their rightful lord, upon whose escocheon no stain, neither of avarice nor cruelty nor lust, appears. To the duties of commander he would add the daring of a coutelassier. Often he marshalled his troops, showing himself able in strategy and in leading. Often would he fight like a

July 28.

spirited recruit. On a day, in a skirmish, his people wavering, he thrust himself into the throng, and by single courage retrieved the field. Then, attacking the castle outworks, he surprised a sallying party and put them to flight. One foot-soldier obstinately withstanding, he grasped that man's lance and thereby wounded himself in the ball of the thumb. An artery injured, inflammation supervened, erysipelas, mortification. The whole arm up to the shoulder became black. For five days he lay distempered. And having, after the manner, assumed the cowl as a brother of Sithieu, and

August 9.

made his peace with the Church, he died. 'God rest his

A. S. C.

soul!' But in the meantime, Hélie, Tirel and his household concealing the accident, had pressed the garrison to a surrender. There is pathos in the fact—but it redounds not to Henry's glory—that the dying Clito wrote asking pardon of his uncle, to whom were due only his privations and his miseries, whom he had by no means wronged—entreating favour for those who had been faithful to him—as from one very capable of dealing harshly. It is recorded (rather ostentatiously) that,

no cause obstructing now, Henry granted pardon to those adherents in memory of his nephew. CHAP. VI.

Again the king had triumphed. Normandy lay secure thenceforth. France accepted Diederic as Count of Flanders; and Diederic, under a secret and enduring treaty with England, procured to wife that Sibylla of Anjou whom Henry had denied to his brother's son. A.D. 1128–29.

Here, copying the practice of Roman clerks in parallels, the chronicler insinuates that Stephen Count of Boulogne, and other Norman nobles who held lands in Flanders, 'homaged King Henry in right of his crown.' Occasionally we must be ware of monks. These magnates did no such thing. But, as in the treaty about Le Mayne, heretofore, so now, in this place, and very persistently throughout mediæval history, legal phrases adroitly turned, while preserving a sense partly true, would gratify a covetous patron and, under eventualities, might serve to substantiate unjust claims. A cunning king's-clerk had infinite means of injecting falsehood. The intent here is to raise a presumption of 'commendation;' as if the King of England had been superior lord of Flanders, or of part of Flanders. But neither Stephen nor the Norman-Flemings homaged Henry in this sense if in any manner. Possibly those referred to, if lying under suspicion, may on this occasion have been required to renew their fealty, they being Normans, as Normans. But not as Flemish feudaries did they homage Henry: that had been contrary to feudal principle: nor in any way in right of his crown, which affected Englishmen only.

The Norman nobles, bereaved of their hereditary prince, now submitted: William de Roumere foremost. And the king sent to England for Waleran Count of Meulan, and Hugh de Neufchatel; and, taking hostages O. Vit. xii. 46. A.D. 1129. A.S.Chron. Ante, pp. 196, 202.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1129.

from them, suffered Hugh to go home to France, and gave back to Waleran all his hereditaments except the castle of Pont Audemar; receiving him to intimacy.

June 10. The marriage of Matilda with Geoffrey got solemnised at Le Mans, and a generation of projects effected itself thereby. But though 'by aid of the supreme ruler of

S. Dunelm. events, Henry stood firm at the summit of power,' 'a few days only passed' ere his daughter, repudiated by her husband, returned with small retinue to Rouen. And the king, cast into trouble, experienced the bitterness of parental sympathy, of mortified pride and of

Lapp. 341. political failure. It is said that the incertainty of Matilda's succession must have tended to aggravate the misunderstanding between the parties. But two years had elapsed since the betrothal; and scruples, if any were, might have been allayed meantime. Within those 'few days' no strong feeling on that head could have arisen. Rather, objections of a domestic kind account for the rupture. Personal ill-temper existed on both sides: the one headstrong, the other imperious. Matilda at the ripe age of twenty-six years could ill brook the boy of sixteen springs. The haut empress despised the petty court of Anjou. The woman felt and inspired disgust.

July. J. Cont. Wig. The king, with his daughter, now returned to England, where certain church affairs awaited him. By primatial precept all bishops, abbots, archdeacons, priors,

Sept. 29. monks, canons 'and all who had charge and oversight of the Christian religion,' came to London at Michael-

A.S.Chron. mas 'that they might confer on God's rights.' The meeting, begun on Monday—lasting till Friday, how pretentious soever, only concerned wives and their husbands

Nov. 30. of the secular clergy: to wit, that before S. Andrew's day, women should be put away: that priest or arch-

deacon who would not divorce his wife should forego his church, his home, and be disqualified for ever. It were interesting to learn with what purpose and by what means the king obtained jurisdiction in this cause. In a country as yet mainly free from Roman thraldom, an edict so tyrannous needed aid of the temporal arm. But neither Henry nor any other king, nor any layman, had admitted advantage to the commonwealth therein. Sympathy with this movement must, therefore, have been feigned on Henry's part. Again, the fact that, for ages, the ecclesiastical power had failed to fix the canon of celibacy on seculars: that opinion and nature had constantly thwarted censures and sequestrations in that behalf, must have convinced the hierarchy of the unfitness of dogma to the controul of human instincts. Synod after synod enjoined, decreed: council on council forbade, denounced. But men honoured their wives and loved their offspring. They bare the coarse reproach and the imputed shame. And it is not likely that sentences at variance with the nation's mind and interests, its justice and piety, took effect. Clearly, then, the alienising prelates had exhausted the quiver, and would fain borrow—as Rome has always borrowed—weapons from the State. Howsoever, the '*conventus*' delegated authority to the king; that, in all causes of priests' marriage, he should deal. And 'through the simpleness of Archbishop William, to confusion of the bishops,' who now complained that the clergy should 'suffer exaction,' the king mitigated law and assuaged the alarms of many. In effect, following the Vatican precedent, he dispensed the wedded clergy who were willing to redeem their wives; and, for sums of money paid into his exchequer, licensed priests and archdeacons 'to lead about a wife' after the manner of

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1129.

H. Hunt. R. Wend. A.S.Chron.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1129–31.

the prince of the apostles. 'All kept their wives by the king's permission, even as before.'

How far decease of Honorius and the temporary division of the papacy may have enabled this arrangement, we cannot see: but, proverbially, the true interests of Christianity have been served in the afflictions of the sublime pontificate.

Jan. 25. A.D. 1129. Nov. 17. A.S.Chron.

Giffard having deceased, the king now gave the see of Winchester to his nephew Henry de Blois, Abbot of Glastonbury. But the see of Durham, vacated by Flambard's death, and that of Hereford, lay without spiritual provision. After dedicating the monastery and cathedral of Canterbury in presence of the Scots' king and amid all ecclesiastical pomp, Henry sailed for Normandy.

Sept. 5, 1128. Flo. Wig.

May 9, 11. H. Hunt.

Michaelmas, A.D. 1130.

The first object of this visit does not transpire. Swaying between pope and antipope, jealousy of the French king retarded Henry's adherence to the pontiff most acceptable to the Cisalpine powers: but, having entertained Innocent at Chartres, England refused Anaclete. And we learn only that in the course of next summer the king returned home bringing his daughter. It may be, then, that negotiations with the court of Anjou pended. For, shortly, in *curia* at Northampton, all *principes Angliæ* deliberated whether, on due demand, Matilda should be restored to her husband. And, on affirmation, matters speeded. The king it is said—though I am not satisfied with the authority—on this occasion caused all who had sworn fealty to his daughter to renew their oaths; extending the obligation to many who theretofore had not sworn. But howsoever, Geoffrey received his wife 'with the pomp due to so great a princess;' and, almost immediately, the king is reported in Normandy again.

A.D. 1131. Sept. 8. H. Hunt. O. Vit. xii. 11. P. & C. E. 9.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. I.

H. Hunt.

CHAP. VI.

A year, this, ushered in by brilliant northern lights: of murrain among cattle greater than had been known. Where ten or twelve ploughs had worked, not one turned a furrow. He who had owned two or three hundred swine had not one left. The hens died. Fleshmeat grew scarce, and cheese and butter. Entire herds of swine suddenly perished. Whole stalls of oxen were swept off as in a moment; and, 'for years to come, no village in England could exult over its neighbour.'

A.D. 1131–34.

A.S.Chron.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. I.

The king's sickness at Windsor, boundary quarrels between Welsh bishops, the like between York and Lincoln—touching the site of the cathedral of the latter—petty grievances of Peterborough monks, death of abbots, the creation of the see of Carlisle, consecration of Nigel, another nephew of Bishop Roger, to Ely, and of Chancellor Godfrey to Durham, occupy the chronicles. We ascertain nothing of the condition of England. There is no reign in which, actually, we have less knowledge on that score. The king crossed over sea. He remained abroad 'by reason of his great delight in his grandchildren.' After eight-and-twenty years' imprisonment, Duke Robert died at Cardiff, and received the miserable dole of funeral honours in the pavement before the altar at Gloster. The sad tale of blind old age, groping for the last sign of unbrotherly contempt, if not strictly true, is at least well found. "My brother has supplanted me and despises me. He has taken away my country and my birthright and my liberty, and he gives me but his cast-off coat."

A.D. 1132.

H. Hunt.

A.S.Chron.

A.D. 1133. August 3.

H. Hunt.

J. Cont. Wig.

A.D. 1134.

J. Cont. Wig.

Paris, note. R. Wend.

Henry had sailed during an annular eclipse; and the shadow darkened his declining years. Oftentimes had he fain return, but 'his daughter detained him on

A.S.Chron.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1134–35.

account of sundry disagreements, and his son-in-law opposed his will in all things.' Geoffrey besieged Roscelin, Viscount of Beaumont, the king's son-in-law, and burnt his town. And he harboured W. Talevas, heir of De Belésme of evil memory, whom the king desired to quell. And through arrogance and ill-temper Geoffrey and Matilda brought the old man's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

O. Vit. xiii. 18.

Ib.

H. Hunt.

A.D. 1135.

At S. Denys, in the forest of Lions, some leagues from Rouen, Henry sickened. Maugre experience and the physicians, he had eaten rich unctuous lampreys; and the 'surfeit,'—not necessarily an excess in quantity—stagnating his blood, reacted in acute fever. On the seventh day he died. Hugh, sometime Abbot of Reading, now Archbishop of Rouen, received his confession, and wrote to the Pope how that for three days he had in sorrow ministered. How the royal sufferer had lamented his sins, beating his breast, and, disavowing all ill-will, vowed amendment; for the third time within three days receiving absolution. It is said, but all too vaguely, that he released criminals and restored exiles and disseized persons. From the treasury at Falaise he distributed 60,000 livres among the hired troops and household servants; and, having arranged for his funeral and for his daughter's succession to all his territories, accepted the last offices of the Church, and peaceably departed.

O. Vit. xiii. 19.

Nov. 25.

H. Hunt. R. Wend. Dec. 1.

Cf. Hardy, Desc. Cat. B. H. II. No. 262.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. I.

O. Vit. ut supra.

The Earls Robert of Gloster, William of Surrey, Robert of Leicester, and the Counts Rotrou of Perche and Waleran of Meulan, all near and dear to him, with other magnates, accompanied by 20,000 persons, bore the royal corpse personally, by hand and shoulder, to the mother church at Rouen, where surgeons operated thereon according to the mode. The bowels,

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1135–36.

the brain, and the eyes, were conveyed in an urn to S. Mary de Pré, Emendreville. But the body, which was enormously fat, slashed with knives and copiously sprinkled with salt, they sewed up in ox hides. Corruption, notwithstanding, tainted the air; and one, hired to sever the head with an axe, 'though closely veiled, became the last of that great multitude whom Henry slew.' From Rouen to Caen, still pestilentially exuding—and so home to Reading they carried the remains; and, exposing the effigy on a hearse, buried King Henry before the altar of the Virgin on the sixty-seventh anniversary of his birth.

H. Hunt. J. Cont. Wig. A.S.Chron R. Wend.

A.D. 1136. Jan. 6.

The incoherence of opinion concerning Henry is remarkable. Every writer praises him, yet every chronicle condemns him. Great foundations—Reading, Cirencester, Dunstable, Wellaw, Anglesey, Creke: large handed contributions—to Carlisle, Merton, Bec, St. Valery, Evreux, Clugny, S. Remy at Rheims, S. Martin aux Champs Paris, Chartres,—morsels of the nation's wealth doled out to the church—seem to have condoned the general spoliation of Normandy and England: patronage of clerks, to have covered the multitude of sins. His coward spite, his avarice, detract not from his piety in the clergy's sight. 'A calm dissembler of his enmities, who, in due season, avenged himself fiercely.' 'He consoled the widowed churches: indulged his people with equitable laws. Chaste monks held his inordinate concupiscence for a virtue. 'He was led by female blandishments, not for gratification of lust, but for sake of issue.' 'He was a good man, and great was the awe of him: no man dare ill treat another in his time. He made peace for men and deer. Whoso bore his burden of gold or silver, none dare say to him aught but good.' Nevertheless, England groaned under

W. Malm. De Gestis R. v. O. Vital. x. 15.

W. Malm. de Gestis R.

A.S.Chron.

CHAP. VI.

his taxings; and, in the troublous times that followed, whatever he had done, either despotically or on due authority, appeared excellent.' 'No man in his dominions was equally wretched, equally wicked.' Profoundly vindictive and 'a slave to his cupidity, he lived in alarms. He was reckoned the most fortunate of kings; but truly he was the most miserable!' 'Not prone to personal combat, he verified that saying of Scipio Africanus, "My mother bore me a commander, not a soldier."' Fond of the chase, he bade maim all other than his own dogs, within the verge. Delighting in wild-beasts, he begged from foreign princes lions, leopards, lynces, camels, and, to wonder, possessed 'a creature called a porcupine.' At Woodstock and at Caen were his menageries: at Bristol his vivarium. A man of just middle stature, of brawny chest and fleshy body: of black hair, scant about the brow, of bright and mild eye. Facete in season, plain in his diet, temperate, heavy in sleep, deliberate in the act of speaking, inquisitive, sagacious, secretive, of keen foresight and notable tenacity.

H. Hunt. Id. Ep. ad Gualt. et De Episcopis sui temporis.

W. Malm. De Gestis Regum, v.

Rot. mag. pipæ, p. 88.

W. Malm. de Gestis R. v.

Cf. Ro. Glo: Engl. Chron. p. 429. Ed. Hearne.

STEPHEN

A.D. 1135—1154.

CONTEMPORARY POTENTATES.

Emperors	Popes	Kings of France	Kings of Scotland
LOTHAIRE II. d. 1138.	INNOCENT II. d. 1143.	LOUIS VI. d. 1137.	DAVID I. d. 1153.
CONRAD III. d. 1152.	CELESTINE II. d. 1144.	LOUIS VII.	MALCOLM IV.
FREDERIC I. (Swabia.)	LUCIUS II. d. 1145.		
	EUGENIUS III. d. 1153.		
	ANASTASIUS IV.		

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE THROUGHOUT.
JOHN OF WORCESTER, TILL 1140.
HENRY OF HUNTINGDON THROUGHOUT.
WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, TILL 1142.
WILLIAM OF NEWBURY THROUGHOUT.
AILRED OF RIEVAULX.
THE ACTS OF KING STEPHEN THROUGHOUT.
RICHARD PRIOR OF HEXHAM, 1135—1139.
JOHN OF HEXHAM THROUGHOUT.
ROBERT DE MONTE.
ORDERIC VITALIS, TILL 1141.

CHAPTER I.

STEPHEN.

CHAP. I.

No woman ever led northmen a-viking. No female, except for one year the widow Sexburh, had sate on an Anglo-Saxon throne. The monarchy of England, in like manner as the Norman feof, had grown out of conditions in which masculine qualities alone availed. And hereditary chieftainship itself was as yet recent.

A.S.Chron. 972.

The fact that hereditary succession was unsettled is illustrated in the occasional practice of crowning the son in lifetime of the father. Thus Louis VI. gat Louis VII. consecrated by Pope Innocent in the Council of Rheims. And the lay peers as well as the ecclesiastics affected displeasure at the act on the ground that their right to elect their king had been forestalled. With no other view than security of the succession had our Henry required homage to be paid to his son William and, subsequently, oaths of fealty to Matilda.

A.D. 1119.

Suger, Vita Lud. Gr. p. 319.

Neither among the Gauls and Britons, nor with the Scand and Teuton tribes, nor yet in any realm parcelled from the Western empire, did there exist clear memory of a ruling queen or precedent of the state power passing from sire to daughter.

If, then, Henry had desired to transmit his kingdom and his duchy to Matilda, it had behoved him indicate that purpose, in some way analogous to the royal use

CHAP. I.

of naming a successor, or according to the testamentary form in vogue throughout lands not Salic—though the effect of either act had been uncertain; since the rights of the electors here, and the suzerain's rights abroad, could not suffer prejudice. But in the present appears no mortuary designation such as our forefathers had respected or declined at pleasure and very slight record of a parole will bequeathing the territories to Matilda exclusive of her husband.

Cf. Ælfred's Will in Asser. *ad fin.*

W. Malm. de Gestis R. v.

According to Anglo-Saxon constitutional law the throne lay vacant—to be filled now as of yore by free choice of the nation. And, following feudal custom, the King of France would accept the next heir to the deceased duke who might be capable in the incidents of feudal duty. The deceased king's voice had only a moral significance in England—hardly so much in Normandy.

But Henry deferred not his arrangements thus. As he had caused the Norman and English magnates homage his son William, so, after William's death, had he formally constrained their acceptance of Matilda as his heir. Abnormal or just, there is no question of that fact, or of the intent of it. But the legal efficacy may be doubted of oaths which militate against national duties and natural rights.

Ante, p. 209.

They who bound themselves to sustain the king's daughter in England and in Normandy stood not in place of the elective community of England; still less did they rank in the courts of the suzerain king of France. And their oaths, at farthest, affected only their own consciences and actions. In truth, the adjured may be regarded as a cabal sworn to forestall the lawful franchise in this kingdom and to check, in the duchy, the superior lord's prerogative. And the sanctity of an oath hardly attaches.

There are, besides, these points to be considered. The oath, absolute in favour of the daughter, being conditional on Henry leaving no son, fealty under it vested subject to be divested. And it might have resulted that—regardless of the fundamental principles of fitness necessary in the ruler of this country or of his competence in the feof—a posthumous male child on the one side and Matilda's husband on the other would have had like claim on the support of the swearers. The oath, therefore, appears first, unlawful; the king having no authority to propound it, and the magnates being incapable of observing it without injury to state privileges: secondly, invalid, because of uncertain operation; inasmuch as birth of a posthumous son would detract from interests vested in the daughter meanwhile; and void, moreover, since, in case of Matilda's marriage, her husband would become entitled by the courtesy to hereditaments not subject to the custom of courtesy. And, indeed, it appears that this oath was administered suddenly and dehors these considerations—albeit one says 'after long continued deliberation'—to wit, at the moment that the Clito, on being advanced to the county of Flanders and holpen of the French, might have been expected to press for restoration of his birthright. And repetition and extension of the same took place at Northampton when the '*Curia*' was about to restore Matilda to her husband; and had not been needed if the former act had been perfect. Nor yet did this second swearing deal with the rights of the English people or of the French king or of Geoffrey of Anjou.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

Ante, p. 218.

The king, desponding of male issue, would fain secure succession in his territories to his daughter; and, by an arbitrary interference, endeavoured to

CHAP. I.

oblige his subjects therein. But it is quite certain that of the magnates, cleric and lay, who bound themselves in that behalf, many perceived the inoperativeness of the proceeding. Some obeyed a 'peremptory and thundering command' and sware under mental reservations: others, as soon as Matilda had betrothed without consent of the council, 'absolved themselves' by reason of the king's precedent undertaking to the contrary. It were vain, therefore, to enquire how far subsequent dereliction involved perjury. A promise to the king, however solemn, was no state act to contravene state responsibilities.

Howbeit, the actual vacancy of the throne and the conditions enured to present a typical election of king; and that the most interesting on record. For, since the trust reposed in the 'ruler of men' is personal, demise of the crown became now, as often heretofore, signal for disorganisation. The bonds of society loosened suddenly when the hands that tied them or kept them fast had failed; and the rather because they had been drawn too tight and by forces unagreeable to human nature and to the genius of the people under thrall. The 'very excellent police' instituted by the Normans had become an instrument of oppression. Now, therefore, the need of kingly authority and the supposed fitness of the claimant for that office were declared to be the moving causes towards choice of Stephen.

Cf. Allen's Inq. Introd.

A.D. 1135. December. H. Hunt. Gervas. C. col. 340, 10. Gesta Ste. 1.

While King Henry's corpse lay at Rouen or at Caen awaiting a favourable wind, Stephen, Count of Mortagne and, in his wife's right, of Boulogne, 'sailed from Witsand in a swift ship;' and, being repulsed from Dover and shut out from Canterbury, approached London with few followers. 'At his arrival, the City,

CHAP. I.

which had been in mourning, came out to meet him with shouts of joy and received him in triumph; regaining, as they thought, in Stephen what they had lost in their protector Henry.' The men of rank and experience (many or few) who had assembled in council to provide for the welfare of the nation, unanimously resolved to elect him king. For they said that the kingdom was exposed to danger when the source of order and justice failed; and that it was, therefore, of the utmost import at once to choose a king who might re-establish peace for the common good, punish malcontents by force of arms, and administer the laws justly. They claimed it also as their undoubted right and especial privilege, when the throne should be vacant by the king's death, to provide that another should take his place and follow in his steps; and they said that there was no one, as it appeared to them, who could fulfil the duties of a king and put an end to the dangers of the kingdom except Stephen, who seemed sent to them by Divine Providence and who appeared to all worthy from his illustrious birth and his great qualities. And, none controverting, the council offered the crown to Stephen who, 'by common consent, was chosen king.' Some 'proviso being previously made that, so long as he lived, the City should aid him by its wealth and support him by its arms; and that he, on his part, should lend his whole energies to pacification of the realm.'

A.D. 1135. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i. Gesta Ste.

It is obvious, then, that Stephen was no usurper nor tyrant in prime sense of that term; but, according to ancient mode, a true and lawfully-elected king of England. No king before or since on higher terms. Neither, like Harold, born out of the royal family, nor, like the first and second William, unconnected with the

CHAP. I.

native dynasty; for his mother, Adela Countess of Blois and Chartres, was the Conqueror's daughter; and his wife, Matilda of Boulogne, was sole child of Mary, Ædgar Ætheling's niece. Inasmuch, then, as Henry had represented the Anglo-Saxon line, Stephen might represent it. Inasmuch as Henry or Rufus (either being out of the direct line of succession) had claim to inherit, Stephen might claim, through descent. And the rather since, at this crisis, the alternative involved the pretensions of a female. None could imagine sceptre or sword in a woman's hand; and, in the matter of election to the throne as of heritage in the feof, Matilda's sons and the sons of Adela stood in the same category. England chose him most serviceable to reign; the suzerain would accept his homage whose conditions most commended him. Only by a revolution in opinion—such as after 300 years took place here, and has not yet happened in France,—could Matilda herself have reigned in England or in Normandy. And in either country infancy might be objected against her children.

A.D. 1135.

Ante, p. 135.

J. Wig. Gesta Ste.

Stephen, secure of the crown, instantly set about pacifying the country. For, in hatred, as between races, discord, and, in default of the executive, violence, had already become rife. Man had risen against man, wasting the substance of high and low. Among such, the late king's porter, with a band of folk and hired soldiery, plundered and, by fire and sword, spread alarm. Him Stephen presently hanged, killing or dispersing his comrades; thus, at the outset, making his name feared. And, therefore, when he came in power to Winchester, the bishop on short conference with the burghers received him into the city.

A.D. 1126.

Now Henry de Blois, Monk of Clugny, Abbot of

Glastonbury, Stephen's younger brother, had succeeded Giffard in this episcopate; and, having been admitted to the late king's council, had, in conjunction with Roger, Bishop of Sarum, influenced that body in disposal of the crown. More certainly had he tampered—yet, hitherto, without effect—with the royal treasurer W. Pont de L'arche, to deliver up to the elect the castle of Winton and the horde therein. But, when Stephen entered Winchester as a king, William bent with cheerful aspect and gave up the keys. A strong fortress, the second city in the realm, with the vast sums—100,000 lbs. weight of the purest coin, besides vessels of gold and silver of high value—collected 'by the magnificence' and the rapine of his predecessors—enhanced a rising cause; and, as Henry's 'deep policy' had grasped Rufus' wealth as prime incident of royalty, so Stephen flourished in possession of the nation's spoil. Reports spread far and wide. The people rejoiced, and they who previously had been in friendly relations with Stephen and his brothers concurred to sustain him.

A.D. 1129.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

Gesta Ste.

Cautiously, however, to those urging instant coronation, Primate William suggested 'that, since a king were chosen to govern all, it behoved all consent to his election'—implying, I apprehend, that the voice of the Council and of the Londoners needed general ratification—objecting, moreover, that 'the principal men of the realm' (himself of the number) 'had previously bound themselves to Matilda; and that while there existed, through her, issue male of the late king, none other had just claim on their suffrage.'

Stephen's partisans argued on the contrary, 'that the marriage of Matilda with Geoffrey had been an act of policy as between Normandy and Anjou, not in anywise affecting England's interests; based on Henry's

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1135.

desire to have peace in his own days: that the magnates' 'oaths had been compelled, not persuaded: that the king, on his deathbed, repented of that adjuration.'

Repudiating the perjury, and claiming freedom in the matter, they confidently insisted that he who founded his claim on a lawful right—to wit, his descent from the Conqueror—and had been welcomed in the metropolis and chosen by the council, who, moreover, by his own valour, by the power of his adherents and by the wisdom of his brothers, would be capable of ruling, ought to be accepted king; and that, by supporting him at this crisis, they should best benefit their distracted country. Various considerations moved: Hugh Bigod, seneschal, witnessed that, on his deathbed, Henry had disinherited Matilda and named Stephen as his successor: others expressed shame in submission of prelates, earls, barons and a whole people, to a woman. Certainly it obtained that the late king had felt antipathy to Geoffrey of Anjou. *Valeant quantùm*, in effect, public sense preferred its own action; and, in result, Archbishop William, (after administering the rigorous tests pertinent, to which—persuaded that his brother would follow the example of their grandfather—Bishop Henry pledged himself) assisted by the Bishops of Winchester and Sarum, anointed and consecrated Stephen king both in England and Normandy. No other bishops, no abbot, scarcely any of the nobles, a large concourse of clergy, present.

R. Wend. Cogeshale, add. R. Nigri Chron. II. p. 179. R. de Diceto, col. 505.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i. Gesta Ste. Dec. 21, 22 or 26. A.S.Chron. R. Wend. Chron. de Bello. Ann. Bermond. fo. 13 b.

King Stephen held his court in London. And, the fact of his coronation becoming known, 'almost all the magnates willingly and reverently adhered.' Many, receiving grants of lands and presents, liberated themselves from the forced fealty to Matilda and homaged

W. Malm. ut supra. H. Hunt. A.D. 1136. Gesta Ste.

CHAP. I.

Stephen. But Robert Earl of Gloster and almost all the nobility had, for uncertain cause, stayed abroad.

A.D. 1136.

And when the remains of King Henry had been landed, Stephen, with the primate and a great company of bishops and nobles, met the funeral; and, 'for the love he bore his uncle,' Stephen supported the bier on his own royal shoulders and so brought the corpse to burial.

W. Malm. Gesta Ste. H. Hunt. J. Wig. R. Hoved.

Jan. 6.

Ante, p. 221.

King Stephen now commenced a 'royal progress' through the realm; well-marshalled troops ensuring awe, his own affability drawing to him allegiance in city and monastery. But shortly this display of military pomp assumed the stern form of a campaign, and this chivalrous courtesy became a reproach.

Gesta Ste.

The irritable spirit of the Welsh had already broken out. War raged in Cardigan; from Gower (Glamorgan) to Gloster, natives and Normans, in arms against each other, alike revolted from the king. David King of Scots, having taken Newcastle and Carlisle, began to vex him: in Exeter and the Isle of Wight, Baldwin de Redvers rebelled; in Norwich, Hugh Bigod seized the castle.

Ann. Theok. J. Wig. A.S.Chron.

From Reading the king had but reached Oxford—the festival of the Nativity now drawing to a close—when tidings came that the Scot, under pretence of a friendly visit, had violated the borders. "What he has gotten by stealth, I will recover by force," said Stephen; thereupon 'without delay' marching northwards—an army valiant and numerous beyond memory.

H. Hunt. Hoved.

By this time David had retreated on Durham, nigh which the two kings met, personally or by representatives, and arranged a peace fluctuating as the marches. David restored Newcastle, retained Carlisle:

A.S.Chron. R. & J. Hagust. A.D. 1136.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1136. H. Hunt. R. Hoved.

refused to homage Stephen since he had sworn to sustain Matilda: yet he suffered his son to perform suit and service and to accept, in guerdon, the town and earldom of Huntingdon.

By Lent, Stephen had returned to London, where, during Easter, he held court brilliantly. After Easter Robert Earl of Gloster, arriving, professed homage—as is said by those who vaunt his treachery as a virtue—'under a certain condition, to wit that, so long as the king held his rank entire and maintained his personal engagements, he would be faithful.' But, though the insincerity be verified, no such or such like terms as between lord and vassal are conceivable.

Subsequently, Stephen returning to Oxford, the bishops, in Synod, 'sware fealty to him so long as he should maintain the liberty of the church and the vigour of its discipline.' Messengers, moreover, returned from Rome with the blessing of Pope Innocent II. on the nation's act—for the church now affected to doubt the legality of King Henry's marriage with a recluse—and witnessing acceptance of the same on the part of the King of France and of the Count of Blois. Now the suzerain's act touched accession to the duchy: but Theobald's act affected both duchy and realm: for, William of Blois being set aside for some infirmity, only Theobald stood before Stephen as adult male representative of the Conqueror. At this time, therefore,—not upon the former sojourn at Oxford, I am persuaded by collocation of the chronicles—Stephen, on his part, renewed and ratified his coronation oath; albeit he may have prepared the formula and undertaken so to do at synod in London. The document, variously transcribed, is undoubtedly authentic and important. "I, Stephen, by the grace of

W. Malm. R. Hagust. col. 313. Cf. Ep. G. Foliot, 79. *Ed. Giles.* Eadmer, Hist. H. Nov. iii. 56-8.

Cogeshale, add. R. Nigri Chron. II. p. 180. Gesta Ste. Paris, n. Wend. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i. R. Hagust.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1136.

God, elected king of the English by consent of clergy and people, consecrated by William Archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the holy Roman church, and confirmed by Innocent, Pope of the holy Roman see, do, through respect and love towards God, grant Holy Church to be free and confirm to it all due reverence. I will do no thing simoniacally, nor permit such to be done, either in the Church or in matters ecclesiastical. Jurisdiction over beneficed clergy and all persons in holy orders, and over the property of such, and the distribution of the effects of ecclesiastics, I admit to be in the hands of bishops and confirm it so to be. I grant and appoint that the immunities of churches, confirmed by their charters and their customs from of old, shall remain inviolate. Whatsoever the Church possessed and held during the life and at the death of my grandfather, King William, I grant free and discharged from the claim of all parties; reserving at my will and pleasure all pretensions to property possessed before the death of the said king and lost sithence. I confirm whatever has been granted to the Church meantime. I pledge myself to keep peace and to do justice to all. I reserve to myself the forests which King William my grandfather and King William my uncle made and possessed. All the rest which the late King Henry added I remit, give and grant without molestation, to the churches and to the kingdom. If any bishop, abbot, or other ecclesiastical person, shall have distributed his property or, before death, have appointed distribution, the same shall stand good. And if such an one shall die without having appointed distribution in the premises, then shall the Church carry out distribution in manner best for the repose of the intestate's soul. When sees shall be-

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1136.

come vacant, let them and their whole possessions be committed into custody of the clergy or of lawful men of the same church, until a pastor be canonically ordained. I entirely do away all exactions, extortions, injustices, illegally introduced by sheriffs or by any one else. I will observe the good ancient laws and just customs in cases of murder, pleas, and other causes. And I command and appoint them so to be observed."

If more should be required to prove the legitimacy of Stephen's rule, it will be found in the attesting witnesses to this charter. The Archbishops of Canterbury and of Rouen; the Bishops of Winchester, Sarum, Lincoln, Evreux, Avranches, Hereford, Rochester: Roger the Chancellor (son of Roger Bishop of Sarum): Henry de Blois, the king's nephew and eldest son of Count Theobald: the Earls, Robert of Gloster, William of Warrenne and Surrey, Ranulf of Chester, Roger of Warwick, Simon of Northampton; the constables, Robert de Vere, Milo of Gloster, Brian fitz Count, Robert d'Oily; the Seneschal Hugh Bigod; the state sewers, William Martel, Humphry de Bohun, Simon de Beauchamp; the state cup-bearers, William d'Albini, Eudes Martel; the Barons, Robert de Ferrers, William Peveril of Nottingham, Payne Fitz John, Hamon S. Clair, William of Albemarle (Aumale), Ilbert de Lacy.

H. Hunt. R. Hoved.

In the Rogation days, the king being affected by a lethargy, it obtained that he had died. Forthwith anarchy revived. Hugh Bigod having seized Norwich Castle by stratagem, refused to deliver it to any but the king in person. And to Stephen, when recovered, he very reluctantly submitted. Next stirred one Robert de Batthenton or Badington, a knight of good extraction and plentiful estate, but a glutton and a wine bibber, who in time of peace abandoned himself to

Gesta S.

sensualisms. Among the most turbulent, he, on the late king's death, had gathered a band of ruffians, who, sallying from his castle, harassed the neighbourhood. Even after fealty sworn to Stephen, he had waxed more ferocious in that sort. Being summoned therefore, and, on due testimony, judicially condemned, all his possessions now lay at royal mercy. And the council decreeing that he should accompany a troop to which, in the king's behoof, his castle might be resigned, he, by the way, craftily feasted the soldiers and so escaped to fortify his hold and shelter himself in the woods. Stephen, therefore, advanced in power, encamped round Batthenton, and, by a timely act of severity obtaining surrender, banished the marauders, outlawed Robert.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1136.

This affair hardly concluded, word came that Baldwin de Redvers—magnate of first rank—had broken out into open rebellion. He had brought armed bands into Exeter, reduced not only the city but adjacent parts, seized the royal castle, stored the same with provisions raked from the country and fiercely domineered in Devon. Stephen accordingly despatched 200 horse to protect the folk, and, if it might be, prevent the enemy's egress from the citadel; and then, marching all night, by daybreak approached the city. Baldwin's garrison had already issued to chastise the citizens' fidelity, but at sight of the royal colours withdrew. And shortly, the king himself in person arrived.

Gesta S. p. 20.

Exeter, at this time ranking as fourth city in the kingdom, was surrounded by Roman walls, its citadel, cresting a high mound, seemed impregnable; its towers, built of hewn stone, defied assault. It will be remembered how Exeter stood out against the Conqueror. And it had been re-fortified since. Here, then, Baldwin, with

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1136.

his wife and sons, ensconced, supported by 'the flower of the youth of England,' all bound by oath to resist Stephen to the last; while, from the battlements, a garrison glittering in arms dared the king's forces to an onslaught. Some days these sallied, some days hurled missiles; ever were vigilant, aggressive. But Stephen, with the barons who accompanied and others who joined him, at length drave the garrison from the outer walls and occupied the enceinte thereof. Also he brake down the bridge which gave access from the castle to the city, and, raising lofty wooden towers, (Malvoisins) over-topped the beleaguered. Day and night he pushed the siege. His miners sapped the walls: his archers galled the warders.

Gesta S. pp. 23. sq.

Meanwhile, at Plymton, Baldwin's men in despair treated with the king; and a small troop of 200 horse, having rased the fort and harried its demesnes, drave thousands of cattle into Exeter. Other malcontents, thereupon, forsook that cause; Alfred, son of Joel, excepted—a familiar and sworn comrade of De Redvers—whose brother, rallying his retainers, boldly led them as it were to aid the king. It had been impossible among so many crowding the city to distinguish friend from foe; and already, among the besiegers, mingled kindred and allies of the besieged. To them, through some monk informed, the garrison, in very sight of the king, sallied, and escorted the reinforcement within. "It is good," said Stephen, comforting the vexed spirit of his army; "it is good that all our enemies be in one place."

Nearly three months had passed, and 15,000 marks had been spent, when, through failure of two wells within the castle, victory achieved itself. There remained not enough water to slake one man's thirst. Men drank

wine, made bread with wine, boiled meat and herbs in wine; nay, they quenched firebrands thereby, till wine also failed. The garrison then shewed their exhaustion to friends without; and forthwith two prudent persons sought to interest humane Stephen in their behalf. The Bishop of Winchester had noticed the worn forms of these, their parched lips, their panting breath, and he counselled the king to harshness. There were no need of treaty when a garrison must surrender at discretion. Then Baldwin's wife, naked of foot, ashes on her head, weeping, approached. Stephen hearkened graciously, but stood inexorable. Death worked in the citadel, humanity in the camp. Barons of the king's party and those secretly of Baldwin's faction pleaded *en masse* and by argument prevailed. Clemency would attach rather than would rigour awe—besides, these men had not sworn allegiance, and were merely serving their lord. So Stephen suffered the garrison to evacuate the castle with arms and baggage and to take service as they might choose; while he forfeited to himself all the territories of Baldwin de Redvers. Nor was Baldwin humbled or hopeless; fleeing to his patrimony the Isle of Wight. Hence, from a long seaboard habitated by hardy sailors, he proposed to pirate Normandy and England, to aggravate and protract rebellion. But Stephen, leaving his brother, the Bishop, in Exeter, followed to Southampton and manned a fleet. Baldwin, unready and alarmed, prayed pardon. His stately castle, built of hewn stone, availed him not, his stores and ammunition, when water might be wanting. In vain he sought restitution of his lands; and, in bitter mood, exiled, refuged in Anjou with fell purpose of revenge.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1136. A.S.Chron.

Elated at this success, Stephen, relaxing, went to hunt Sept. 29.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1136. H. Hunt. Hoved. Ann. Wav. H. Hunt.

at Brampton, within a mile of Huntingdon. And there he held pleas of the forest with his barons concerning their woods and their hunting therein — as some thought, in violation of his vow to God and his people in that behalf. Now, 'this kind of plea had, in the late king's time, been carried to an execrable length. For, if the royal supervisors set eye from a distance on a wood belonging to any whom they deemed a moneyed man, they forthwith reported waste, whether or not; to intent of amercement; *viz.* that the owner might redeem the same, albeit the charge were groundless.' But that Stephen pursued his uncle's track herein remains uncertain. It must be borne in mind that in such like imputed fracture of his oath 'the transactions are not so much to be ascribed to him as to his advisers, who persuaded him that he ought not to want money—even so long as the monasteries were stored with treasure.' This from one persistently hostile.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

Gesta Ste.

I now refer to proceedings meantime in Wales. In King Henry's day, Payne Fitz-John, sheriff of Hereford and Salop, and one Milo (of whom hereafter) sheriff of Glostershire, had so stretched their power from Severn to sea that none felt safe from their litigation and their force. On King Henry's death the Welsh, loosed from allegiance and passionately spurning all treaties, issued in bands and from all quarters laid waste towns and cultivated lands. In Gower, meeting the Norman levies, their footmen hemmed in the knights and horse soldiers whom, to the number of 516, they put to the sword and left, 'horribly dragged about the fields,' to be devoured of wolves. Blooded, they overran the borders, bent on every mischief, prone to every crime; neither respecting age, sex, rank, nor

A.D. 1136. Jan. 1.

J. Wig. Gesta Ste.

place, nor season. Churches, vills, castles, cattle, corn-lands, by countless quantities through fire and the axe were devastated, and the numbers of rich and poor sold into foreign captivity excited imagination. In one fray, while chastising the rebels, Payne, pierced to the brain by an arrow, fell—and he alone of his party. And again, Richard Fitz Gilbert (de Clare) Lord of Cardigan, noble and amiable, being caught in an ambush was murdered by Jorwerth (Chaloner.) Immediately on the bruit that this greatest Norman chief in Wales had perished, all neighbouring insurgents converged in three bodies on his 3,000 cavalry and defeated them. Thirty-six miles of flourishing country became a desert: old folk, left naked and hungry, died on the hearth: youths of either sex passed away to slavery: women of every age bewailed the violence done upon them. In Richard's castle, short of food, forlorn, lay Richard's widow, sister of Ranulf Earl of Chester, hopelessly crying for help; beleaguered by savages more dire than hunger or any grief. But, by this time, Stephen, having pacified the Scots, had returned to London and by letter bidden Milo with a posse to the rescue; who, tracking his way through the enemy's posts among gloomy woods and craggy hill-tops, effected her release. The king sent also Baldwin, Richard's brother, with much money, to quell the insurgents; who, beside a body of horse, gat together 500 stout bowmen and in full power reached Brecknock; where, learning that felled trees blocked the roads and that a multitude advanced to meet him, while a general rising threatened his rear, he halted, hoping to weary out or starve all adversaries. Abandoning himself to gluttony and sloth, however, he wasted his supplies and then, in want and disgrace, withdrew.

A.D. 1136.

April 15.

CHAP. I.

A.D. 1136.

Robert Fitz Harold, on the other hand, dispersing the mountaineers, fortified some deserted castle and, entrusting it to a chosen garrison, retired to recruit in England. Here, nevertheless, the wild folk, long while surrounding the garrison, triumphed through famine. Stephen, occupied at Exeter, perceived the futility of these desultory motions; his troops perished; his wealth decreased: it were better to suffer this local lawlessness and retire from such profitless violence till, ceasing to be opposed, the rude tribes should quarrel among themselves. And in effect this happened. Soon even the scant food requisite to the Gaël could not be found. Kelt cut Kelt's throat and the beasts that dogged the ravagers, dying of amine and murrain, caused a pestilence that desolated the land. And presently, so great a slaughter happened in Cardigan that, without counting captives' wives, there remained 10,000 women whose husbands with numberless children had been either slain, or drowned, or burnt. When the bridge over Tivy brake, crowds passed the river on a horrible raft of corpses.

Oct. J. Wig. Gesta Ste.

But although Wales continued in chronic anarchy, Stephen had in some sort tranquillised England. He had restored exiles (not named), had inaugurated his rule without cruelties or confiscations; had largessed, beneficed, gifted magnificently; had accepted homage, even from those most inimical, rather through persuasion than by threats. Free from simony in conferring ecclesiastical dignities, he caused justice to be dealt; and withal, being kindly and respectful, gay, gallant, gentle, he had induced much good will, some confidence, little fear. When certain whom King Henry had raised from low degree and attached to his interests by honours and estates, earls, sheriffs, justiciars,

Gesta Ste. p. 14. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i. Hoved. Gesta Ste.

stood aloof, encased in their castles, or, like the chief porter, marauded: when others, pretending a conscience in their oath to Matilda shrank—though they rather dreaded to face those magnates whom in the season of their prosperity they had insulted, or trembled to answer at law complaints of the poor and the cries of widows wronged,—even such Stephen condescended to court, vouchsafing continuance of his favour; granted them safe conduct, conceded their demands and, without scruple, accepted their faithless homage. Payne Fitz John and Milo among them: Robert, Earl of Gloster, the Empress' half-brother and most stalwart champion, their chief. 'England now resumed its ordinary repose. All men, by God's grace, through which kings reign, quietly submitted.' CHAP. I. A.D. 1136.

Archbishop William of Curboil deceased, not without malevolent remarks on the part of monks. He had been a canon. He, foremost of all, had sworn to maintain Matilda: had absolved himself and the perjures. Nov. 20. J. Wig. G. Neubrig. i. 4.

King Stephen celebrated Christmas at Dunstable; affairs in Normandy meanwhile operating in his favour —to his prejudice.

CHAPTER II.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1135–6.

O. Vit. xiii. 21.

In the very week of her father's decease, Matilda entering Normandy in arms, the Viscount Guigan Algason yielded to her Argentan, Hiesmes, Domfront and their appurtenances. Shortly, Theobald Count of Blois and Chartres, in person, advanced his claim. Then, in the spirit of his father of diabolic memory, W. Talevas, Count of Ponthieu, re-occupied Séez and other castles of which he had been disseized. And subsequently the forces of Le Mayne and Anjou spread over the land. But in council at Neubourg, the magnates, inclining to homage Theobald as next male heir of the ducal line, on knowledge that Stephen had been crowned in England, resolved, with the count's consent, that, since the barons of either country held feofs in the other, it were for common weal of realm and duchy to serve one lord. The Norman populace also, rising against the strangers, slew some 700 and at point of sword dispersed the rest of them; while a revolt of Robert de Sablé and other Angevins occupied Geoffrey and relegated the disputed province to its chronic state of intestine war. 'Like the allegorical beast, the Normans gnawed themselves with their own teeth.'

A.D. 1136. Ib. 22.

On death of Eustace, ex-sieur of Bréteuil, his son William overran that lordship. Roger de Toeni and Robert (Bossu), Earl of Leicester, waged private battles. Waleran, Count of Meulan, recovered from De Toeni, by

aid of the commonalty of Rouen, the royal castle Vaudreil and then burnt Acquiquy to the ground: whereupon Roger burnt the Bellomonts' vills Croix S. Leuffroi, Cailly, Ecardanville-sur-Eure. CHAP. II. A.D. 1136. May 8–13. 23.

One Boet, Richer de L'Aigle's archer, packed ruffians, who, like wolves, skulking the neighbourhood of warlike chiefs, ravined on monks' farms. Of twelve such, taken redhanded nigh Ouche, shepherds and burghers hanged the leader with six other on the same oak. And the garrison of L'Aigle, in revenge, fired eighty-four houses in S. Evroult. Brethren tolled bells, chaunted psalms and litanies, or, mingling among the soldiers, besought pity, tearfully excused their people, tendered satisfaction. But men of war and spoil despise the industrious and meek. These would hearken to no reason nor to any prayer. They dragged the religious from their palfreys and terrified them with sticks. 'Such the reverence paid to his sponsors by Richer, a godson of the monks! Yea, he almed for the souls of those righteously done to death; and, to the church in which he had been baptised, made an offering of fire!' Moreover, his priest, Baudri, at head of the parish in arms, cast the first brand on a brother priest's roof. But the wind changed. And the abbey, its valuables preserved, opened its hospitable gate to the unhoused; and thenceforth, these marauders attacking Séez, Gacé and the forces of De Toeni, blushed under the taunt "Come on! We be men of arms like yourselves: try your puissance against ours: we wear not the tonsure and the cowl and from us, haply, ye may learn the law of arms." Gilbert de Clare essayed Hiesmes, burnt the new bourg which King Henry had built and the Church of our Lady; but, on W. Talevas' coming to relieve the old bourg, escaped,

O. Vit. xiii. May 18.

Ib. 24.

CHAP. II.

leaving Henry de Ferrières (Ferrers) and other king's-men captive. The brothers Bellomont now subsidised the Count de Blois at 100 silver marks to join against Roger de Toeni. Entering whose territories in power, they fired the villages; and, rushing suddenly on Bougi-sur-Risle, burnt that bourg with the church of S. Mary Magdalen and men and women therein. On the same day, hard-bye, Richer de L'Aigle and Alverede de Verneuil, in passing the new fort of Ferrières-sur-Risle, encountered Robert de Belésme (Poard)—some unrecognised scion of the Montgomeries?—with the vassals of Mauvoisin and some French knights, partisans of De Toeni, by whom they were defeated. Then Count Theobald laid seige to Pont S. Pierre: but, after a month, desisted. And, whether by sheer casualty or in tumult, the grand city of Rouen fell to the flames; and the monastery of S. Ouen, scarcely complete after eighty years' labour, and S. Armand's convent of nuns, perished.

A.D. 1136–7 June 11.

June. July. Sept.

O. Vit. xiii. 25.

Ib. 26. Sept. 20.

Geoffrey Count of Anjou now passed the Sarthe and, with a large army, entered Normandy. With him marched William (VIII.) Count of Poitiers, Geoffrey, second son of Geoffrey (III.) Count of Vendôme, William, eldest son of William II. Count of Nevers, William Talevas, Count of Ponthieu, and others, many, '*Guerribecci*'—war-picks, harrowers; some loyally supporting their lords, others adventuring; plunderers all—a vast stream spreading over the land. Geoffrey beseiged Carrouges in Alençon and in three days took the citadel, which presently Walter the Castellan re-entered. The people of Ecouché (in Gournay) burnt their homes and fled. The garrison of Asnebec made terms for a year. The Angevins now encamped at Montreuil: assaulted thrice: retired. That strong tower of squared

stones which our chief justiciary, W. Basset, in English pride, had edified to vie with neighbouring Norman castles, now, in hand of W. de Montpinçon, gallantly repulsed the '*Guerribecci*.' And the Angevins invested Moutiers-Hubert and put the Castellan and thirty men-at-arms to heavy ransom: then, by forced marches, approached Lisieux. But here the garrison, Bretons, in alarm, fired the city; and Geoffrey, despairing of plunder, unable to approach the citadel by reason of the flames, wheeled about on Sap, when Walter de Clare and Ralf de Coldun with thirty men-at-arms—accompanied, and therefore numbering 120 at the least—after encountering bravely some 3,000 bowmen, beside slingers, yielded to multitude and fire.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1136.

Sept. 29.

Now the Angevins had sped through the duchy in thirteen days—not acquiring dominion, but increasing eternal hatred, of Normans. No general engagement happened the while. There had been no leader on the other part. And the wild quarrels of Conches and Bellomont had occupied the seigneurs. The Angevins marauded, and were defeated by the peasantry. A hateful sect these '*Guerribecci*,' who 'tare sacred vestments from the priests at altar: who slew such as rung bells or invoked God's help!' Reckless thieves: free bands of sturdy villains: undisciplined vagabonds 'gyring like kites,' prowling like wolves, who slaughtered flocks, eat the flesh raw or ruddy without salt or bread.' Of such the pretender's army! Himself wounded in the right foot by a dart, his troops demoralised and suffering diarrhœa, Geoffrey had need retreat—albeit Matilda that evening brought a reinforcement of several thousands. By daybreak, without noise, he decamped; his host, safe from pursuit, still ravaging by the way; till, at the fords of Oldon—probably between Mar-

O. Vit. xiii. 27.

Sept. 20.

Oct. 3.

Oct. 1.

Oct. 2.

Oct. 3.

CHAP. II.

mouillé and Surdon—Enguerrand de Courtomer and Robert de Médavi, with a few, withstood the passage. There, ill-gotten spoil, cartloads of bread and wine and of effects, were delivered up; and many a rogue, in terror of the sword, plunged to muddy death. Geoffrey had entered Normandy on a careering destrier, proudly threatening: now, he jolted homewards pale, groaning in a litter. And within his own border, at the hands of his own villains, he lost his chamberlain and his coffers, his state costumes, his precious utensils.

A.D. 1137.

O. Vit. xiii. 27. Ib. 24.

In such plight, then, stood Norman affairs and the claim of the Count of Anjou and his wife during the first year of Stephen's reign. The king had purposed to cross sea soon after Whitsuntide—and at other times: but events even graver than Geoffrey's invasion intervened; till, on Archbishop William's death, Bishop Henry of Winchester, having been designated to the primacy and awaiting in Normandy return of his envoys to the Pope, by letter rendered him conscious of the crisis. Having previously sent messengers of credit, Stephen, with Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and a large retinue, landed at La Hogue. It had been expected that he would be altogether like his predecessor who esteemed him; and that, possessed of the treasury of so many kings, he would be munificent. The Normans welcomed him accordingly. But the frank bearing of the nephew had no counterpart in the uncle farther than an amiable smile; and England's hoards eluded the vulgar hope of largess. 'He did no good for his soul's health therewith,' they complained. Yet Stephen spent all for his country.

Ib. 28.

A.D. 1137. Gesta Ste. J. Wig. A.S.Chron. H. Hunt. O. Vit. xiii. 30. March.

A.S.Chron.

O. Vit. H. Hunt.

In view of the perturbed state of Normandy, he claimed the suzerain's aid and subsidised the Flemings.

CHAP. II.

Himself expert in strategy and cognisant of the land, he quickly subdued rebellious Tankerville, Villers, Mésidon. And, in a conference with King Louis, procured investiture in the duchy on his son Eustace, then an infant, under the usual feudal ties. Marching into Evreux, he released (with stringent conditions) Roger de Conches, who had been eight months in ward, and ingratiated Rotrou Count of Perche and Richer de L'Aigle by benefices.

A.D. 1137. May.

At this instant the Count of Anjou, at head of 400 men-at-arms—a force of 1,600 or thereabout—entered Normandy again, again harried Hiesmes, burnt the castle and church of Basoches, put to ransom the monks of Dive and of Fécamp; and met his first check at Gué Beranger—hard by the field of Valesdunes.

Cf. Roman de Rou. ii. p. 30.

The surroundings widened. Robert Earl of Gloster, the late king's bastard, had, it will be remembered, reluctantly homaged King Stephen. Now, 'having thoroughly sounded the sentiments of those who with him had sworn to uphold Matilda and with him had done fealty to Stephen and planned his future course, he sailed for Normandy.' Possessed of vast estates hereabouts as son-in-law and heir of Ro. Fitz Hamon, it would seem that he tampered with the garrison of Caen whose fidelity had not been anticipated by Geoffrey. Again: William d'Ypres, that Fleming whose acts had borne an aspect of complicity with the murderers of Count Charles, whose aversion to the Clito had rendered him odious, now, in command of the auxiliaries, confronted the Angevins: but neither Norman nor Fleming would second him; and the native magnates grudged and privately resented the king's partiality towards this man. Consequently, when Stephen rendezvoused at Lisieux, none counselled

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

Easter day, April 10.

O. Vit. ib. 30. Ante, pp. 210, sq.

June.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1137.

action against the invader. Normans and Flemings came to blows. The army disarrayed. Leaders, each followed by his own vassals, left the camp; and the campaign brought itself to end. Stephen humbled himself to argue with and allay Hugh de Gournay, W. de Warrenne and other 'hot-brained youths,' whom he followed to Pont Audemar; but he soon perceived the character of their defection; and, rather than bring treachers into his ranks, truced with the enemy for two years. Geoffrey accepted two payments of five thousand marks each in bar of his wife's pretensions; and at same time Theobald received an annuity of two thousand marks as it were for resignation of his birthright. Considering the resources of realm and duchy, we may estimate the value of these claims respectively and the means in hand of either claimant to enforce such.

R. Wend. July, Aug. Sept. 13. R. de Monte, col. 452.

April 9. Suger, Vita Ludo.

William Count of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, deceasing in the spring of this year, had willed all his states, together with his only child, to France. And the French army, released from war, now escorted Louis-Florus to Bourdeaux, where, at the age of seventeen, he married Eleanor of Guienne. Meantime, Louis (VI.) le Gros dying of the effects of extreme heat on a corrupt body, Louis (VII.) le Jeune—who had previously been crowned King of France by Pope Innocent II.—received the chaplet of Aquitaine at Poitiers.

Aug. 1 or 4. Suger. O. Vit. xiii. 32. Oct. 25, 1131. Aug. 8.

Normandy, however, still in agitation, Stephen seized Grosœuvre in Evreux, razed Quitri in the Vexin, awed the territory of Avranches and the Bretons. Subsequently, called home by disturbances of greater moment, he consigned the accomplishment of peace to W. de Roumere, Roger Viscount of the Cotentin

and other justiciaries; and, taking the brothers Waleran and Robert (de Bellomont) with nearly all the chief Norman lords, sailed for England. CHAP. II. Advent.

Stephen again held court at Dunstable; but, being warned by Nigel Bishop of Ely of a plot to massacre all Normans and deliver up England to the Scots; and himself perceiving, from the attitude of the magnates, some rash disloyalty toward, passed the festival of Christmas in arms. A.D. 1137-8. O. Vit. xiii. 32.

Now the castle of Bedford had been confided by royal license to Milo of Eaton, youngest son of Hugh de Beauchamp Lord of Elmley. Stephen, at this time granting the same with title of earl to Hugh de Bellomont—youngest brother of the above Waleran and Robert,—required that Milo should do service therefore and hold the fortress of Earl Hugh. This, however, Milo, claiming hereditary rights, insolently denayed; then grasped munitions from the neighbourhood, shut the gates and defied the king. Stephen accordingly advanced in power and on Christmas Eve sate down over against Bedford. The castle stood on a high mound, surrounded by a solid and lofty wall, its keep impregnable, its garrison complete and resolute. The king set sharpshooters under cover who galled those on the battlements: made fasces to fill up the trench: engines to batter the base: posted night-watchers at the gates: stayed outgo and income; and, by every available means, distressed the rebels. Other insurgents drawing him hence, only by blockade and exhaustion did Bedford eventually yield. R. & J. Hagustald. A.D. 1138. Ailred, de Bello Standardii. H. Hunt. Gesta Ste. p. 30. Dec. 24. A.D. 1138.

Deeper, spreading, roots of disaffection now appeared. Conspirators brought to trial suffered capital punishment. Some, ere arrest, exiled themselves: others—the most powerful—leagued with Scots and Welch. Almost O. Vit. xiii. 32.

CHAP. II.

in every part of the kingdom treason sprouted and flourished.

A.D. 1138.

The King of Scots had invaded England and made peace, as we have seen. Yet he again availed himself of Matilda's claim to aggravate Stephen's embarrassment. He had harboured Ro. de Batthenton and his kin, outlaws, Eustace Fitz John with others, hostile; and, if not in person a pretender to the throne, mainly consorted with revolters. 'His people savage, uncleanly —neither stunted by cold nor weakened by want— swift of foot, lightly armed, contemning death, tenacious of life,' hurried irregularly across the border. In national zeal, under colour of religion, David set forth. His hordes ripped up pregnant women, tossed infants on the spear, slew the sick and bedridden, butchered priests, after the manner of Huns, Magyars, Danes. They cut off the heads of images and stuck them on the bodies of the slain: they fastened bleeding polls on crucifixes. Wherever they came they enacted this scene of horror amidst groans and shrieks. On Stephen's approach these fled to their fastnesses; and, albeit he carried fire and sword through the Lothians, neither David nor David's people opposed him. A mixed sort of mongrel borderers these: Scots, Picts of Galloway, lowlanders, men of Teviot, Cumbrians, renegade Northumbrians, fugitive Anglo-Saxons, discontent Normans—Netherlanders,—a refuse people, the abominable of the land.

Gesta Ste. p. 36.

Ailred, *ut supra.* G. Neubrig. i. 5. Chron. Melsa, fo. 10. b. J. Brompton, coll. 1025–7. H. Hunt. R. Wend. R. Hoved. J. & R. Hagustald, col. 260–316.

April 10. 11. P. & C. E. 11. J. Wig. May 10.

King Stephen held a council at Northampton. At which were present Thurstan Archbishop of York, all the bishops, abbots, and it is stated—surely not verified —all the earls, barons and nobles, of England. Thence he progressed towards Gloster. The folk met him by the way, joyfully; the monks, in procession, greeted

him. He offered his royal ring upon the altar and redeemed it for fifty shillings. And then, being escorted to his palace by Milo the Constable, received fealty of the citizens. After assisting at high mass on Pentecost, he marched to Hereford. Here Geoffrey Talbot had seized the castle, notwithstanding that the people acknowledged Stephen. After four weeks the garrison surrendered. He took Weobley, then, and thereby checked and exasperated Talbot, who, presently making a detour, fired the city of Hereford below the bridge.

A.D. 1138. May 13. O. Vit. xiii. 37. June. J. Wig. June 15.

At this time Robert Earl of Gloster, staying in Normandy, sent heralds to King Stephen, formally renouncing fealty and friendship, recalling homage on the ground of Matilda's rights and the oath in that behalf. So Stephen departed for London, Gloster's envoys for Bristol. 'These brought to their friends heavy orders, trouble for the realm. To wit, that Bristol must be provisioned and recruited and that hostilities should forthwith rage against the king and his adherents.' At this juncture—among unrecorded others indicated by events—the Earl of Gloster held Bristol and Slade or Slede in Somerset, Leeds in Kent, Margan in Glamorgan, Dorchester, Wimbourne, Corfe, Wareham in Dorset: W. Louvel held Castle Carey; W. Fitzjohn, Harptree; Ro. de Mohun, Dunster; these three in Somerset: Bryan Fitz-Count, Wallingford, Oxford: Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, Newark in Notts, and Sleaford in Lincolnshire: John Marshall, Marlborough and Ludgershall in Wilts: Walkelin de Ferrers, Oakham in Rutland: W. Peverill, Brunne in Cambridge, Ellesmere in Cheshire or in Salop, Overton in Flint (?), Winterton in Salop: W. Fitz-Alan, Shrewsbury: Paganel, Ludlow in Salop, Dudley in Worcester: Eustace Fitzjohn, Bamborough and Malton in the East Riding of York, Alnwick

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i. Gesta Ste. p. 36. H. Hunt. R. Wend. R. Hoved. J. Hagustald, col. 201. Ann. Winton. fo. 30.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1138.

in Northumbria: Walkelin-Maminot, Dover: Geoffrey Mandeville, the Tower of London and Rochester: Bishop Roger of Sarum, Sherbourne, Malmesbury, Devizes: Bishop Henry (building a tower to his palace in Winchester), Merton, Farnham, Wautham (Worting?), Taunton.

Gesta Ste. p. 36.

Bristol, in a fertile soil, enriched by foreign and coastwise shipping, at this era the most prosperous city of the west, had been fenced and guarded by nature and by art. Raised on a tongue of land between two rivers—Avon and Frome—the tide, flowing fast and strong, filled at flood a basin in which 1,000 ships might ride at anchor. Where it lay most open to attack, the castle had been founded on a mound partly factitious, fortified with towers and circumambient walls and thoroughly furnished with appropriate engines. And now were gathered within knights and men-at-arms with their companies from all parts—freebooters 'fearful to behold; robbers incredibly truculent.' And to these

Ib. p. 38.

Geoffrey Talbot hied. 'There is a city, twelve miles hence, whose hot springs, circulating beneath the surface, are conducted by artificial channels into an arched reservoir and thus supply those warm baths delightful to behold, healthy in use, whither the infirm come for cure and the curious to examine bubbles.' This city, Bath, the Bristol knights desired, since it might be held with ease. And Talbot, with Gilbert de Lacy, his cousin, ladders and scaling irons in hand, reconnoitred for assault thereon. The governour's guard, however, espied, caught and cast Talbot into the deepest dungeon, while De Lacy fled. Again, the Bristol burglars, approaching, summoned the bishop under safe conduct; seized the holy man, and, threatening his life, gat delivery of his prisoner. They had already perjured, they said. Simple man, he, to believe their oath!

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1138.

As to Bristol had converged all malignant spirits, so thence radiated the most shocking incidents of civil war. Man began to raid on chattels; he ended by ravening on man. 'Whatever their hearts lusted they took: yokes of oxen, flocks of sheep.' First they persecuted wealthy royalists; then, indiscriminately, rich and poor throughout the land. When Stephen heard of these things he stayed other tasks and, summoning the militia from all parts, came unexpectedly to Bath. The bishop having justified himself in the matter of releasing Talbot, the king surveyed the city, strengthened its defences, munitioned it as a curb on the rebellious; and, marching thence, halted nigh Bristol.

Gesta. Ste. p. 41. J. Wig.

At a council of war, the advice tendered followed the quality of the times. Loyal men proposed that the channel, in its narrowest place, should be blocked with timber, stones, earth, lest succour should reach by sea; the head waters thus dammed might overflow the city: that forts should be built on either side the bridges; by which communication between the two quarters might be stopped: that, by a strict blockade, the garrison should be reduced. On the other hand traitors objected that a flowing tide—flush and rapid in these parts—would carry away such works: that Gloster's troops had been provisioned sufficiently to withstand this siege. Farther and various arguments and considerations prevailing, Stephen—we can conceive despondingly—turned from Bristol, to scourge the earl's adherents in Somerset. Investing Castle Carey, he showered thereon missiles of all sorts and, by fire and famine, gat surrender. He began a fort over against Harptree also; but, rather than delay in those parts, consigned the check of that fortalice to the force now

Gesta Ste. p. 42.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1138. J. Wig. August.

left in Bath. Marching thence in power, he attacked Dudley—as far as we know without success; and, having herded the cattle and burnt the country thereabout, turned on Shrewsbury. W. Fitz-Alan, with wife and children, had already fled: Stephen nevertheless besieged the castle. He filled the ditch with faggots and bavins and, setting fire, smothered all. At the moment, the gates being forced, the garrison *en masse* leaped from the walls or crept through the soldiery. Much slaughter happened. Five principal men—one account says ninety-three, particularising Arnulf de Hesdin, Fitz-Alan's uncle—were hanged; and the king returned southward on Wareham. There is no note of his action thereon. Probably it happened, about this time, in passing thence, if not about Christmas in this year, when returning from overthrow of Slade, that, as he neared Bristol, the garrison of Harptree, sallying, hung on his rear. Whensoever, Stephen, wheeling and spurring, reached that castle, forced the gates, scaled the walls, stormed the place.

O. Vit. xiii. 37.

H. Hunt. Gesta Ste. p. 44.

From one region to another the royal army hurried; and the commotions prevent accurate detail. In the west lay Stephen's sphere. And from Flint to Dorset, from Glamorgan to Worcester, we can track him. In the east his queen matched his courage. Of action in the latter quarter we have but slight notice. Her forces besieged Dover: her ships from Boulogne cut off supplies. Only on intelligence of the fall of Shrewsbury, Walkelin-Maminot, persuaded by De Ferrers, yielded Dover. Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Tonbridge, pressed Leeds (Kent) to surrender.

O. Vit. *ut supra.* Gesta Ste. p. 44.

'Like another Hercules' however, Stephen, by each stroke, added to his enemies. 'The troubles of Saul and of other scriptural exemplars fail to parallel his losses in adherents or such mere accidents of fortune as befel

him. The Maccabean struggle, the defences waged by patriots wheresoever, and the wide wars of Alexander, are surpassed here; for the most painful, the bitterest, lot fell on him whose friends did eat of his bread and lifted up the heel against him—whose enemies were of his own house.' Some, terrified at occasional severity, delivered up their keys: others, too leniently dealt with, revolted. Milo, Constable of Gloster, leaguered with the Earl of Gloster; and the faction confidently invited Matilda to accept all her father's territories within five months.

O. Vit. J. Wig.

The condition of England at this period is appalling: yet every incident of the narrative is vouched by one eye-witness or more. The Bristol knights, under auspices of the late king's bastard and in behalf of the late king's daughter, inaugurated the woe and the shame.

Gesta Ste. p. 40. A.S.Chron. J. Wig. H. Hunt.

Violently or by fraud, they gat hold of such as seemed of substance, bandaged their eyes, gagged their tongues, hurried them to the den; and there, by means of torture and starvation, drew out their utmost farthing. Others, more crafty, pervaded quiet parts where plenty dwelt; disguising name, person, business, without armour or notable dress, neither swearing like troopers nor rough as robbers, humble rather and of modest gait, these walked the highways in open day, courteously conversing, till, in some lonely place, they grasped the prey. Human nature, its appetite sharpened, now turned back to savagery; and, after centuries of progress,—after ages of Christian rule and order,—the day redawned when every man's hand was against his fellow. Confidence ceased. If any met another he quickly fled. If a traveller espied a stranger, he trembled as though a ghost had crossed his path. Example, instinct, working, the

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1137.

epidemic raged. The nation demoralised itself and dissolved into the crude elements. In self protection, he who could,—the knight, the yeoman, the clerk—fortified his house: battlements on the convent, moats around each grange, towers on the manour hall, walls about the homestead. 'The land was full of castles.' Suspicion, force, everywhere. Magnates pressed the folk to work at ramparts and dykes, donjons and forts; and, when the castles were garnished, 'filled them with devils.' Scurring thence by day and night, these haled men and women to their holds, afflicted them with pains unspeakable—no martyrs worse. 'Not Nero nor Decius contrived more horrible cruelties.' Some they hung up by the feet and smoked them foully: some by the thumbs or by the hair; fixing burning things upon their soles. They put a knotted string about the head and twisted till it crushed the brain: they set men in dungeons among adders, snakes, toads, and so wore them out. Others they laid in a *crucet hûs* —a short, narrow, shallow, chest—filled with sharp stones; so pressing them as to break all their limbs. In many a castle was an instrument called '*Lath and Grim*' —hateful and grim—a sort of collar for the neck, so heavy that two or three men could scarcely bear one: this being fastened to a beam, the sharp iron was so adjusted round the victim's throat that he could neither sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but must bear all the weight. Thus many thousands died, exhausted by hunger, by pain. Towns paid *Tenserie* over and above, yet gat no lord's protection thereby. And when money failed, the lords burnt the towns. A terror reigned. If two or three men came riding, all the township fled before them. 'Then was corn dear and flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land.' Thou mightest walk a whole day's journey nor ever shouldest thou find

A.S.Chron.

Wig. A.S.Chron.

Lapp. A.N. p. 390. Thorpe, n. 4. A.S.Chron.

A.S.Chron.

a man seated in a town or the farms thereof tilled. The people starved: some, erewhile rich, now lived wretchedly on alms: such as might, fled the country: never was more misery in England! never did heathens greater wrongs than these! And the robberies and murders, the frauds, the domineering, lasted throughout the nineteen years of King Stephen, ever growing worse and worse. Church nor churchyard gat respect: every valuable therein ransacked, what else burnt. Church lands harried, all monasteries pillaged; every man plundering as much as he could! Bishops cursed. It availed not to aggravate the doom of reprobates, to allay the devilish lust! The earth bare no corn. You might as well have tilled the sea. The land lay ruined and its inhabitants. Men said openly that Christ and his saints slept!

After Easter, A.D. 1138. J. Wig. H. Hunt. R. Wend. June 10. J. Hagust. col. 261. Ailred, de Bello Standard.

But meanwhile the Scots had made a third inroad. King David, himself marching along the east coast, detached a party to seize Norham and waste the border. Prince William (Duncan's son) advanced to Clitheroe on the Ribble. Here the first division of the English army—by whom led or how got together I know not—moving in columns, met and crashed itself against the invaders. We hear no more of it. David reached York. Eustace Fitz John, 'a one-eyed traitor,' lately deprived of Bamborough, joined him, opening to him the gates of Alnwick and Malton: presently Bamborough delivered itself up. The honour, the life, of Northumbria lay in extreme peril. And Northumbria nobly rallied. Thurstan, archbishop of the province—he who had dared Rufus and calmed him, who had foiled Henry and reconciled him,—bade the ban. And to him drew Norman baron and Anglo-Saxon freeholders and folk. At his will all took oath of fealty to King

CHAP. II.

Stephen, vowing to resist the invader. Borne about on a litter, circled by surpliced priests, amid crosses and reliquaries, the venerable man counselled, exhorted 'for your souls, for your wives, for your children.' Ralf (Novelles) Bishop of the Orkneys—coadjutor of the see of Durham—took the metropolitan's place in the ranks. William Earl of Albemarle, Walter of Ghent the pious, Roger de Mowbray the chivalrous youth, Walter D'Espec the grand veteran, Will. de Percy, Ri. de Courcy, W. Fossard, Richard de Stuteville (Estoteville?), Ilbert de Lacy, Ro. de Bruce, Bernard de Balliol, heroes all, sons and fathers of heroes, raised the standard on Cutune Moor, not far from Northallerton. Presently joined W. Peverill of Nottingham, Ro. de Ferrers, and Geoffrey (Harcelin) from Derby. Mutual oaths passed. A religious fervour elevated patriotism. Each confessed his particular sins, received the eucharist; and, after a three days' fast and exercise, all, under benediction, advanced to Thirsk.

Ailred, col. 343. G. Neubrig. i. 5.

R. Hoved. Ch. Mailros.

Hence Bruce and Balliol—since they held feofs of the Scots crown—crossing the lines, prayed pause in this unholy war; and, on King Stephen's part, guaranteed the matter set forth as cause of it, *viz.* the earldom of Northumberland. In vain. David had too far stepped in on blood. And Bruce and Balliol—hand in hand—renouncing their lord, their baronies, their state in Scotland, re-joined the Anglo-Norman host.

J. Wig.

On a wheeled carriage (after the manner of the Italian carroccio) spread from a high mast the banners of S. Peter of York, S. John of Beverley, S. Wilfred of Ripon, chiefed by a cross which enclosed the consecrated wafer within a silver pyx. The three patrons of the north should herald them to victory: Christ should hallow their cause. Aged nobles and the young

Aug. 22.

CHAP. II.

Earl of Northumberland stood on the car that they might witness the prowess of that day and encourage it.

A.D. 1138.

The Scots, purposing to surprise them under a morning fog, firing no villages by the way, drew nigh. Bishop Ralf, from a mound, was speaking to this effect: "Nobles of England, Normans by birth, remember who and whence ye be. Gallant France hath yielded to your arms: ye have subdued fertile England: under your rule Apulia has risen to glory: Antioch and Jerusalem are the meed of your valour. But Scotland—which is yours by right—is advantaged by our present troubles. Heretofore when we have entered Scotland, the Scots have fled; nor ever faced you; and now, in mere rashness, they who are fitter for a riot than for a battle have invaded our homes. Fear them not, their numbers, nor their ferocities. Ye are in mail: they be naked. Be brave: be worthy of your renown: above all, be conscious of God's presence. They come! I see them rushing disorderly! I rejoice to know that they will meet their doom! In the name of the Father, whose creatures they have horribly slain: of the Son, whose altars they have defiled: of the Holy Ghost, from whose grace they have desperately fallen, I absolve each and every of you who shall perish in this day of righteous vengeance!" And the people shouted "Amen!" and the hills echoed "Amen! Amen!" And the Scots raised their war-cry "Alban! Alban!" and the Galwegians yelled thrice, Keltwise; and, amid the clang of arms and the din of strife, all particular sounds mingled. Galwegians in the van: Cumbrians, Tweeddale-men, English,—some household troops under the Prince of Scots—in the second line: Lothians and Highlanders in the third: David himself with a reserve of Lowland Scots: such may have been the form of

G. Neubrig, i. 5. H. Hunt. R. Wend.

Cf. G. Neubrig, i. 5.

Ailred, de Bello S.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1138.

attack. The contradictions of chroniclers in this respect are in detail only: and of the hurly that ensued it is possible to give an outline.

Cf. Ailred ut supra. H. Hunt.

In wild spray of darts the Galwegians surged on the Normans; but, like a wave bursting on a rock, reeled, recoiled: again and again the rolling corps brake itself on the impregnable, and ever fell back dripping. Long spears, shattered by the axe, could pierce no iron coat, nor utmost rage reach at the Standard. English arrows galled the kilted, tearing their file 'as though

H. Hunt.

a cobweb;' and, when the chieftain dropped, his followers fled amain. In another quarter the Scots, bravely battling, on perceiving this disarray, panic-struck, dispersed. King David stood almost alone: his chosen troops slunk off by units and by clans: he mounted and escaped. His son, Prince Henry, captaining English and Normans of the royal household, essayed; he charged right through—passed the hindmost ranks—fell on the cavalry that guarded the horses of the knights who had dismounted: returned, and, from the close column of footmen sheathed in armour, not ingloriously retired with wounded horses, shivered lances, serrated ranks.

This act had cut through the Anglo-Norman army; and the terror and confusion consequent changed for a while the aspect of the field. English began to fly: but now one of resource, cutting off the head of a corpse, harooed amain "The King o' Scots' head!" and suddenly stopped the flight. A rally, a closing in phalanx, a charge on Lothians and Highlanders, and there an end. Onslaught ceased, and defence. Havoc began with bloody passioning. Eleven thousand Scots fell on the field. And in the woods and among the corn numberless others of them were slain. Had it not

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1138.

been that the English had dismounted; that their corps, close marshalled, were unwieldy, the consequence had been more dire. Only one Anglo-Norman knight, Ilbert de Lacy's brother, and a few mean folk, perished on King Stephen's part. And such was the 'BATTLE OF THE STANDARD.'

Ailred de Rievaulx de Bello S. Cf. H. Hunt. Serlo, de Bello, MS. C.C.C. Cant. cxxxix.

On criticising this engagement no vast exaggeration appears, though the arrangement of the battle varies. There is not any serious discrepancy between the chroniclers—a fair accord, rather—though difficult of arrangement to the modern mind. The fact of the Scotch invasion, 26,000 strong, having extended from Clitheroe to Thirsk and continued from Easter till Assumption, when taken with the ferocity and indiscipline of the people and the character of their allies, supports the general charge of rapine and cruelty on their part. The number of slain might, indeed, be reduced slightly—to 'nearly 10,000 in different places'—*viz.* in action and in rout; but the victory was complete; and fugitives so hateful, so far from their border, could hardly have escaped a vehement massacre. Their king—an old man now, and never distinguished in arms—fled through bye-ways and thickets into Roxburgh; or, according to another account, he quitted the field, his colours flying, and reached Carlisle. His courageous son, attended by a single knight, wended on foot to Carlisle: for two days, at least, one knew not of the other. The Chancellor (W. Comyn) and 50 chiefs gave up their swords. Of 200 mailed knights, only 19 carried their armour from the field. The fugitives cast away arms and clothing, left their own goods and the spoil they had gotten; and the booty in such and in horses was immense. All these facts denote a disastrous defeat. On the other hand, the Anglo-Norman barons, skilled

R. Hagust.

J. Wig.

Cf. H. Hunt. Ailred. R. & J. Hagust.

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1138–39.

Ante, p. 199.

warriors, under religious and racial stimulus, had dismounted—to conquer or die, as the action seems to have signified, elsewhere, often. They stood in the first rank, mailed, fought hand to hand against a host half armed, half clothed, utterly rude in war; and beside every baron and beside every knight stood his esquire armed as himself, his henchman with fresh weapons, his coutelassier with drawn sword, his archer doubly provided:—and English archers were already notable. That such a phalanx had been impregnable to a rabble, however brave or ferocious, who can doubt? Certainly, as is intimated, if the Anglo-Normans had not sent their horses to a distance, the pursuit would have cut off king and prince, would have enhanced the big death-roll. And moreover, it is said, many, fleeing, drowned themselves in Tees.

O. Vit. xi. 37.

King David, notwithstanding, with such forces as he could rally, returned to besiege Wark (Carham) whence, his engines being burnt and his people being killed by W. D'Espec's garrison, he again retreated in shame.

R. Hagust.

It would appear from a solitary and foreign source that the Danes (Eric Lamb claiming the throne of England) had landed and were now spoiling the coast: that Stephen, suffering them to disperse for plunder, at his convenience destroyed them in detail. At least the story suits with the contrast between Stephen and the first and second William.

Auctarium Gemblac. a. 1138. Lapp. A.N. 387 n.

Soon after Christmas the king, in person, marched into Scotland; and, following their national tactics, the Scots retreated. But Stephen, nevertheless, compelled a truce for two months—ratified permanently at Durham; Prince Henry being delivered as hostage meantime. By this treaty (the legate Alberic inter-

A.D. 1139. R. Hoved. R. Wend.

April 9, 1139. J. Hagust. p. 265.

vening) David promised to render up in Carlisle all females captive in the late raids, to respect churches and never more to meddle in the affairs of Stephen and Matilda. It is said that the queen mediated in behalf of David, her uncle, and that the legate got Chancellor Comyn released. Upon peace, the king invested Prince Henry in the earldom of Northumberland; reserving to himself the royal castles of Bamborough and Newcastle, for which he undertook to grant compensation in some southern district—and for which, possibly, the earldom of Huntingdon was subsequently restored with a farther grant of the borough of Doncaster (?) and the city of Carlisle. I say the earldom of Huntingdon was restored, because King David (son of Malcolm III.) had married Maude, daughter of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland and of Huntingdon, widow of Simon de S. Liz Earl of Huntingdon and of Northampton; and the earldom of Huntingdon had not passed to Simon de S. Liz's son by inheritance. Since it had belonged to Judith, Earl Waltheof's widow, as dower in lieu of her rights in Northumberland, so it may have vested in Maude, Earl Simon's widow, as her dower; and thus awakened a claim (but strictly to courtesy alone) in her second husband, King David. On grant of Northumberland, Huntingdon would seem to follow—a mere forest and hunting-ground. Under vow that the laws of King Henry—*i.e.* English law as distinct from Scotch law—should be kept inviolate, the barons of Northumberland homaged the Scotch prince Henry; five sons of Scotch earls being delivered as hostages for peace and fidelity during life on the part of David and his son Henry. As guerdon of their services in the Battle of the Standard, King Stephen had already dignified William le Gros (Albemarle) with the

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1139.

Ingulph.

CHAP. II.

earldom of York and Robert de Ferrers with that of Derby. Returning into England, accompanied by the spirited and amiable prince of Scotland, towards whom he presently conceived affection, he came to Worcester; clergy and people of the neighbourhood meeting him in procession and with festivity. After prayers and blessing, Stephen took his ring from off his finger and laid it on the altar—it may be the chronicler saw this act of 'the magnificent king'—and the monks, by common consent, restoring it to him next day, he, admiring their humility and devotion and adjured thereto, received back his ring for love of S. Mary, mother of God. On leaving Worcester, he encamped at Ludlow, built two forts and set a strong body in each; thence departing for London by way of Worcester. But his soldiers carried on the siege of Ludlow with notable audacity. 'It was truly a pitiable sight to behold one man poising his spear against another and thrusting through his body regardless of the judgment pending on that man's soul! King Stephen checked such doings by the terror of his threats; and, coming a second time to Ludlow, settled all things peaceably.' In fact he compelled a surrender. And here it happened, in course of some assault, that one from within, casting an iron hook—in mode as we have seen heretofore successful, though then from below—grasped Prince Henry of Scotland by the neck, unhorsed him and would have drawn him over the wall had not King Stephen, knight-like, with his own hand, rescued.

A.D. 1139. J. Wig. April 30.

May.

H. Hunt. R. Wend.

H. Hunt. Ante, p. 198.

Meanwhile the Count of Anjou had seized Orismes and sate down before Bayeux and Falaise. And Alberic, legate, holding synod in London, consecrated Theobald, Abbot of Bec, to the primacy; who forthwith went for his pall to Rome.

Oct. 1138.

R. Wend. R. Hoved. Advent. Cf. R. Hagust. G. Neubrig. i. 5.

CHAP. II.

Stephen now progressed to Oxford. Rumour of Gloster's arrival, of Matilda coming in power, combined with the hydraform character of the rebellion to impress the true meaning of this long-drawn anarchy on the king's mind. The desire to erect castles, the craving for worship, timed with enormous covetousness and lust of power: there lay under this national movement a revolutionary principle. Not for self-defence did so many seek estate—and the more profuse in giving he, the more greedy they—who, ungratified, revolted. And it may be that the alienation of loyalty now patent induced Stephen to create those many earls (*comites* of the Byzantine and Merovingian pattern) who, exercising no offices such as Anglo-Saxon ealdormen, or Danish jarls, or Norman counts, had filled, drew their stipends from the Crown rents. Surely the utmost resources of generosity, of military genius, availed not against the swelling tide.

A.D. 1139. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i. ii.

Hitherto Stephen had dealt with natural enemies of the kingdom, with refractory nobles, boisterous free-booters, a disorganised people. He had behaved right royally—'the magnificent king,' 'the mild man and the good,' 'who wanted little in any princely quality.' But now approached the sterner trial of his temper, when brilliant bearing in arms, pity, amenity of humour, availed him no more. Treason worked under the mitre and 'the Church,' affecting sympathy with its prelates, alienated itself from its king. "Since they have elected me, why do they desert me? By God's birth, I will not be a fallen king!"

J. Wig. A.S.Chron. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

Now the hierarchy had, from an early date, questioned King Stephen's sincerity towards the Church—the Church in their sense. His charter, promulgated at Oxford, had concluded with this unwonted phrase:

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1139.

Ante, p. 234.

R. Hagust.

Cf. G. Foliot, Ep. 79.

July? S. Dunelm. P & C. E. 11. Gesta S. i.

R. Hagust. p. 312.

"All these things I concede and confirm, saving my royalties and just dignity." And it would seem that the prelates thereupon framed their form of fealty; intending that they would obey him only so long as he should preserve the liberties of the Church and the vigour of discipline according to their views. The Pope's bull, too,—in which the marriage of King Henry with Matilda was declared invalid, as an ecclesiastical means to strengthen Stephen's title—declared that the benediction, or faculty of becoming a king, had been granted to Stephen 'in consideration of his having promised on the day of his coronation obedience and reverence to S. Peter.' Possibly the Church construed these terms more freely than King or State had purposed. Certainly, however, in the '*curia*' following, when Stephen received the barons' homage, the hierarchy set forth in no measured words that 'under the reign of his predecessor, King Henry, the Church had been grievously enslaved and oppressed;' earnestly exhorted Stephen to restore her to liberty: to give her a complete, uncontrolled, jurisdiction over all her own members: 'to allow her institutions to be preferred to all laws of secular powers and her decrees to prevail against all opposition or contradiction.' To this, which extended the significance of the papal bull not less than the words of his charter, the king, in some sort, acceded; but he passed no law to that effect; neither had he any purpose to suffer such encroachment on his 'royalties and just dignity.' In fact, to the clerical proposition he nodded assent, as not willing at the moment to reject it, yet with intent to rule otherwise when convenient. As he said, touching Bishop Roger, "He shall tire of asking ere I tire of giving, till the time come." It was

Stephen's part 'to promise largely and to perform nothing.' But the bishops expected of him more than he had promised; and, in the bitterness of their disappointment, maligned him beyond measure. These were fond to say "By the Church he reigned and for the Church alone should he reign."

CHAP. II.

A.D. 1139.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

G. Neubrig, i. 22.

CHAPTER III.

CHAP. III.

G. Neubrig, i. 6.

On a time, in Rufus' days, Prince Henry, passing some church nigh Caen, besought a mass; and the priest celebrating with speed, suggested to the attendants "None more fit than this for our sort." Whereupon Henry saying, "Follow me," Roger rose as did Peter at like word; and, 'as the fisherman left his vessel to walk with the King of Kings, so did this chanter quit his place and adhere to the prince; chaplain to his troops—a blind guide to the blind.' Having experienced his clerk's talent as regulator in a straight household, Henry, on becoming king, appointed Roger Chancellor of State and subsequently Bishop of Sarum; who, expert in office, eventually administered the realm—the last not without reluctance, it would seem, since successive primates, Anselm, Ralf, William, and even Pope Innocent, enjoined him to the task. Diligence and integrity his characteristics—perhaps some decent respect of persons also,—Roger 'kindled no spark of envy;' and when, after long absence, the king would return from Normandy, he found little or nothing to distress him, 'so discreet had been his chancellor, so faithful to perform all things for his advantage.' With the present in our view, however, it is impossible to refer to those times without cynical thought that Roger attached himself to Henry's interests as a means of advancing his own interests: that

W. Malm. De Gestis. R. v.

A.D. 1103-7.

Henry esteemed him most who with least cavil did his bidding. Rightly to set a value on the minister, we must take cognisance of the master. There rise to memory those mutilated moneyers not legally arraigned, that summary assize on which 'certain not guilty' perished by the gallows, long rolls of unlawful taxes, sovereign extortions, sovereign neglects.

The bishop transacted his religion in the morning; devoted thereafter to public affairs. A prelate he of great mind, who spared no cost to complete his designs: of a notable faculty in architecture. He rebuilt the cathedral of Sarum—old Sarum on the rings—which some thought inferior in beauty to no other church in England; and, having custody of the royal castle there, surrounded the same with a wall; thus, on the ancient British, Saxon, Roman, entrenchment, rearing cross and battlement after the use of Normans. Possessed of increasing wealth and of this means of investing it, accustomed to secular authority and the reverence attaching to power, Roger adopted, if he did not institute in England, that private or unlicensed 'building of castles' which illustrated the spirit of the time. 'He would have the courses of stone so correctly laid as to deceive the eye: no joint should declare that the whole wall were not of one block.' Thus he erected Sherborne in Dorset, Devizes in Wilts, and founded Malmesbury. Whatever he thought proper to ask, that King Henry gave him: estates, churches, prebends, abbeys. Without associate or inspector, Roger decided causes as chief justiciar, regulated the exchequer, took charge of the treasury. Crown ministers and crown debtors yielded to his appetite. He would extort by entreaty, by purchase, by force, so that he might enlarge his borders. Wilful, he would fain annex the monasteries

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

CHAP. III.

of Malmesbury and of Abbotsbury (Amesbury) to his see, change Sherborne priory into an abbey, dissolve Horton, supplement Sarum So, also, King Stephen had gratified his greed: "He shall tire of asking ere I tire of giving." Such an one, relieved from office, would emulate lay magnates—no other ambition possible to him in those times—and the bishop, with forecast, had prepared to raise a baronial house! From his son Roger '*de paupere censu*' ('The Poor'),—at this moment King Stephen's chancellor—dates the noble family, Le Poer, first in descent from a clerk, still foremost to cherish and defend the Church. Nor base-born this bishop's son. For, as a secular, no priest vowed celibacy, whose conscience, as his man's nature, remained free to marry or not to marry. Shepherds of Christ's flock, from S. Peter's example and under S. Paul's exhortation, needed no other rule. But since, in the Roman Church, opinion had been expressed against marriage in every order of ecclesiastics, the religious rite which should consecrate sexual union generally denied itself to priests in that communion; and, in result, contempt marked the connection between priest and women. The altar removed, the act informal, sin was imputed to the violator of a canon; and, as a matter of course, the sectarian prejudices of those who record it supplement such enormity.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

J. Wig.

Notwithstanding, the papal doctrine in this case reversed not the common law in England. In the various assaults on our Anglican Church's freedom, this sword, dividing soul and spirit, had failed to kill, albeit had grievously scathed. It will be remembered that King Henry, under continuous pressure, still reserved to the crown power to license and dispense the

married clergy. The fact, then, that Maude of Ramsbury—no mean creature, by the way—lived with Roger of Sarum as his wife from youth up even unto death, if not equitable evidence of dispensation duly had, is sufficient proof of honest, natural, union to repel the uncharitable stigma, to hush the coarse epithet which monks jaculate, zealous to reduce a brother to their voluntary bondage.

Bishop Roger had, moreover, two nephews, sons of his brother, whom, not unmeritously on their part, though 'out of affection for their uncle,' King Henry had advanced to the episcopate. Alexander in the see of Lincoln, 'which he ruled with love and power—who gathered to give:' Nigel, greatest financier of the middle age, prime organiser of the exchequer, in the responsible see of Ely. And Bishop Alexander had built Newark, 'for protection and dignity of his bishopric,' and Sleaford. And among prelates none were richer or more powerful than these three. Few among lay magnates could vie with their retinues or their state. But jealousy, which King Henry's chancellor had carefully eluded, now attached to Bishop Roger and his kin. Haut Barons, grudging their ostent of grandeur, their flourishing territories, suggested Stephen that these bishops, 'regardless of their order, mad for building castles,' assuredly designed his overthrow: that, on advent of Matilda, they, remembering her father's favours, would resign their forts into her hand; and that it behoved him, in the interim, seize the same. Stephen hesitated. He may not have believed the evil report: 'he had respect to the hierarchy.'

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

A.D. 1123.

H. Hunt.

A.D. 1125.

A.D. 1133.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. R. Hoved. G. Neubrig, i. 6.

A.D. 1139.

Being now at Oxford, '*Magnates*,' '*Primores*' summoned to council, the king awaited events. "By my lady, S. Mary," the recorder heard Bishop Roger say,

July 22–4. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1139.

"I know not why; but my heart revolts at this journey: this much I am sure of, I shall be of as much use at court as would be a fool in battle."

Gesta Ste. p. 49.

The three bishops, arriving with much military pomp, gave colour to the charge, pointed a more free expression of distrust; and, in a manner, tested their actual intent.

The advantages of Oxford, as a central spot nigh to the pleasant palace and hunting-ground Woodstock, had marked it for the scene of many councils: but now, as in later times, its narrow tenements and crowded dormitories closed the door against stranger men-at-arms, the burly retainers of magnates lay and ecclesiastic. The Bishops of Sarum and Lincoln, it would appear, housed in an inn within the city, while their followers sought billet in the streets. The Bishop of Ely lodged in a vill beyond the walls. The king, I apprehend, in the castle.

H. Hunt. Gesta Ste.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

A vulgar brawl concerning quarters between the bishops' servants and those of Alan, Count of Bretagne —Alan the Savage, called also Alan of Dinan, though Earl of Richmond,—brought to the bruit some Sarum soldiers then at board. Forthwith swords cut short argument. Blood flowed. The bishops' men, many hurt, one of their leaders slain, prevailed; the Bretons, their Count's son wounded sorely, fled. Anon the Count of Meulan (Waleran)—that vehement partisan whom King Henry had chastised and reconciled—and the Earl of Leicester (Bossu) his brother, with Count Alan banding, rallied the king's troops—already armed, it is said, to this end—fell on the bishops' followers, killing, capturing, routing, spoiling.

Gesta Ste. O. Vit. xiii. 40.

Gesta Ste. W. Malm.

Fraught with such evidence of episcopal malignity, these triumphantly reiterated their complaints. And

CHAP. III.

the king summoned the prelates to make satisfaction in his court for breach of peace: but meantime the magnates, having consulted together, bodily arrested the Bishops of Sarum and Lincoln on charge of treason and carried them into the royal presence. It circulated the while that when the guards forcibly entered the inn they had found these preparing for flight. It is certain that the Bishop of Ely, 'being more wary and active,' on word of the riot, escaped to the castle of Devizes. A.D. 1139.

Whether the outbreak were accidental or prepared on either part, Stephen, at length perceiving the treachery manifest, peremptorily required the keys of the bishops' fortresses. Roger and Alexander offered atonement for their people but hesitated to deliver up their forts; and the king, accordingly, committed them with Roger, Bishop Roger's son, his chancellor, to custody. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

Presently, having sent forward William d'Ypres and the Flemings, the king, taking his prisoners (the chancellor alone in chains), marched on Devizes. To other troops, probably led by the Count de Meulan, the Earl of Leicester and Alan of Bretagne, the castles of Sarum, Sherborne, Malmesbury, severally opened on summons: but Devizes, held by Maude of Ramsbury and Bishop Nigel, closed the gate. Placing Bishop Roger in an ox-crib and Bishop Alexander in a vile hovel—there may not have been surer accommodation—Stephen now caused Roger 'The Poor' to be brought before the walls with a rope about his neck. In view of such calamity the prelate-father vowed not to eat. The mother yearned. In a parley between the Bishops Roger and Nigel, Roger pleaded for his son's life, but Nigel regarded his own pride only; so the gallows and the rope J. Wig. W. Malm. O. Vit. ut supra. G. Neubrig. J. Wig. Gesta Ste. i. p. 50. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. O. Vit.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1139.

and the chained chancellor again came in view. "I bare him," cried Maude; "I ought not to help on his destruction. Yea, I should lay down my life for his." Whereupon she delivered up Devizes to the king. And Alexander gave up his castles Newark and Sleaford. And the bishops, though with an ill grace, yielded their arms and the money stored in those castles; and returned to their respective dioceses, 'humbled, mortified, stripped of all pomp and vain glory, reduced to a simply ecclesiastical life and to the possessions due to churchmen.'

Gesta Ste. p. 51.

But the act impassioned clerical sensibilities. The cloister embraced wherewithal to descant on: the altar an occasion to ban. They took up the parable, brandished the text. A horrible sacrilege had been done: 'touch not mine anointed.' And Stephen, in quelling treason, had become a traitor. Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen—formerly Abbot of Reading,—championed the king. 'The canon stood against the bishops. Glad preachers of peace, they ought not to build fastnesses for malefactors.' Henry, Bishop of Winchester —now legate,—on the Roman part, 'If the bishops had surpassed, judgment lay not in the king but in an ecclesiastical council. Castles built on church land at cost of churchmen pertained to holy church.'

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

Aug. 29. Gesta Ste. W. Malm.

In synod at Winchester, duly authorised by King Stephen—Theobald primate and several bishops attending, Thurstan, metropolitan of York, excused by reason of infirmities, other prelates 'on account of the war,'

March 1.

—after exhibition of the papal bull which entitled Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, legate of the Roman see, Stephen's 'brother whom no affection nor fear of danger could turn from the paths of truth,' in a Latin speech, opened the Bishops' cause, *gradatim*, and

claimed sentence. Stephen, appearing 'by his earls,' demanded wherefore he had been cited; and the legate showed that, since a crime against the church had been charged against him, it behoved the king either to account for his conduct therein or to submit to the censure pertinent. After an interval and private words, Alberic de Vere, Lord High Chamberlain, learned in the law, answered for the king. In absence of the Bishop of Lincoln, he would urge no farther against that prelate than an old animosity towards Count Alan whence originated the particular riot. But he insisted that the Bishop of Sarum had grievously injured King Stephen: that he seldom came to court; while his people, venturing on his power, excited tumults: that, at other places, frequently and previously to the affray at Oxford, they had attacked the attendants and even the nephew of the Count of Bretagne; and, to indignity of the Crown, the servants of Hervè de Levins, also, the king's honoured guest: that the bishop secretly, however disguisedly, favoured the king's enemies. And, in proof, charged that when, in command of the royal troops, Roger Mortimer, under apprehension of the Bristol knights, sought shelter for a single night in Malmesbury, he was denied: that, by common report, the Bishop of Sarum, with his nephews, would, on advent of Matilda, join the adversary and deliver their castles into her hand. Averred that the king arrested Roger not as a bishop, but as a state servant who had received state wages: that he had not taken any of the castles by violence, since the bishops, respectively, surrendered the same to avert punishment due to the assault in question: that 'the trifle of money' found in the castles, having been purloined from the royal exchequer, rightly

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1139.

belonged to the king; knowing which, and conscious of his offences (whereof were sufficient witnesses), the bishop had readily relinquished those sums with his castles. Lastly, the king demanded that the conditions subsisting between him and the incriminated should rest. The Bishop of Sarum traversed no serious item of the charge; neither denied enmity, conspiracy, nor purpose to revolt. Content with the quibble that he had not been King Stephen's minister nor accepted wages from him, in moody vein he threatened that, failing 'justice' here, he would seek it in a higher court.

The legate now admirably hinted that, since facts charged had need legal proof, it behoved under civil law that the bishops should meantime be reinvested with all their property; otherwise, they, being disseized, stood not obliged to plead.

Aug. 30, 31.

The Archbishop of Rouen, to whom all hearkened, said he would allow their castles to the bishops if they could prove out of the canons that they ought justly to possess the same. Assuredly they could not do this. Even were it just in the abstract, yet, in consideration of the surroundings, all chief men of the realm are bound by the custom of nations to submit their strongholds to the king who is responsible for the public safety.

The bishops' plea thus voided, the dilemma suggested as usual an appeal to Rome. But Alberic thwarted that stale tactic and *pis aller* of the clerkly mind. "The king advises none of you to presume on that; for, should any go from England contrary to his wish and to the dignity of his realm, peradventure he shall not readily return. Moreover, since the king is aggrieved, he summons you to the apostolic footstool."

In result, decree ran 'that all munitions of war and

asylums of disaffection belonging to the bishops should fall to the king in his own right.' And it gat declared —by way of compromise or counterpoise—and 'clearly adjudged by the whole clergy that it were unlawful under any pretence to lay hands on the Lord's servants.'

A.D. 1139. Gesta Ste. p. 51. J. Wig.

No censure passed. 'Stephen would not submit thereto:' 'the hierarchy dared not proceed; 1st, because it seemed rash to excommunicate a king without foreknowledge of the Pope; 2ndly, by reason of the terror of the sword.' So the synod ended. The primate and the legate, however, entering the royal chamber, cast themselves at the king's feet, beseeching Stephen to have pity on the church and mercy on his own soul: that he would not suffer a schism between the empire and the priesthood. King Stephen rose to receive the prelates, 'condescended;' and, in deference to synodal opinion, 'laying aside his robes, with sorrowful mind and contrite spirit, humbly apologised.' No more. Since the riot at Oxford—in precinct of the court—had been a misdemeanour, to have brought the bishops to trial therefor had been proper: to arrest them, if not illegal, a wanton insult; unless, indeed, evidence of criminality on their part were manifest. But the issue, in Nigel's case at least, justifies Stephen.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

Sept. 1.

Gesta Ste. p. 51.

H. Hunt. R. Hoved. Cf. Ro. Gloster's English Chron. *Ed. Hearne*, pp. 450 sq. 'prose more plennere.'

Nor, pending these affairs, had insurrection paused or the turgid violence of knightly robbers. William de Mohun, magnate among magnates, from the shore of the Bristol Channel 'swept as with a storm the coast and meads of Somerset. Neighbours and remote householders trembled and fell under him; and the face of the country changed from peace and merriment to grief.' Stephen advanced; but the sea on one side, towers, walls, dykes, intricate outworks, on the other,

Gesta Ste. i. p. 52.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1139.

fortified Dunster against assault. And the king had need march on. William Fitz-Odo, one of great substance, heretofore orderly, emulating outlaws, Henry de Tracey, 'that good knight,' under royal licence, drew out resolute bands from Barnstaple his town and checked raiding near and far. On a day he took 104 horsemen of Dunster: one night, firing through the loops, he captured Fitz-Odo half burnt; his castle and having. But now returned 'with stout troops' Stephen's old rebel, Baldwin de Redvers—as it were the avant piquet of the Pretender—who, landing at Wareham (by Poole) and perfidiously let into Corfe, harnessed against the king. From Dunster the royal army, having set a post thereby, marched straight on Corfe; but, finding assault impracticable, blockade futile, and withal rumour hastening the invasion, the king raised the siege that he might watch the coast. And suddenly—within a month since Stephen had been adjured to condone the bishops' treason and primate and legate with one voice had deprecated his suspicions—Robert Earl of Gloster, with his half-sister the Countess of Anjou, 'The Empress,' landed, armed, at Arundel.

Sept. 30, Aug. 1. G. Neubrig. i. 7. Gesta Ste. i. p. 54.

Though the truce yet ran for which Geoffrey her husband bargained, Matilda's claim had been open: Gloster's defiance at least had been candid: De Redvers, on banishment, had vowed vengeance. These all, as the freebooters throughout the realm, stood overt enemies. Every active malcontent accepts his risk. What, then, of the primate, the legate, the three bishops? Of the attitude of the Church? What the meaning of that prayer that the king, by yielding to manifest traitors, would avert schism between empire and priesthood? If Stephen had not 'sold churches,' neither had he

patronised churchmen. Just and gracious, he had not shown himself 'favourable to monks' nor aggrandised the hierarchy at public cost. Not a 'nursing father' like King Henry, not a 'raviner on holy things' as Rufus, he lacked the Conqueror's self-will and clear purpose to controul; or, in the turmoil of a disorganised, rebellious, country, counselled by the witless or the intriguing, himself incapable of policy, he failed to conciliate, failed to subdue.

The study of this epoch is the more important, because, in every contemporary chronicle, Stephen, personally, is absolved from blame; and the calamities of his reign are charged upon 'his advisers,' his 'rebels,' his 'misfortunes;' more than all upon 'his enemies' overt and secret: are set forth as God's judgment on his usurpation which was not an usurpation, on that sacrilege which was not a sacrilege.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1139.

Now to Alice of Louvaine, his widow, King Henry had assigned in dower the castle of Arundel with earldom thereof—in effect the earldom of Sussex. And Queen Alice had married William d'Albini (*Pincerna*); and, when her late husband's children landed at her port, she received them.

R. Wend. Sept. 30.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. J. Wig.

The Earl of Gloster's arms numbered 140 horsemen—no note occurs of the usual complement of footsoldiers—though 'a great army' is mentioned—neither of any extraordinary garrison in the castle. Robert 'brought his own wife (Mabel Fitzhamon) and other incumbrances,' Guy de Sablè, &c.

R. Wend. O. Vit. xiii. 41.

Gesta Ste. i. p. 56. G. Neubrig, i. 7. J. Wig.

Tidings sped throughout the land. The empress had come to try her cause. The issue, already in ure, enhanced by so much, approached the crisis. England alarmed, every malcontent took heart; but the spirit of all royalists vailed. Stephen, however, unshaken, at head of some light-armed, well-disciplined, troops, by forced marches—it is said that he was at Marlborough at the moment—neared the castle; when, learning that Gloster had passed on by night towards Bristol, he divided his force, leaving one part on blockade, taking the other in pursuit. But the earl with a poor retinue —ten knights and ten horse archers,—spurred secretly through byeways; and the king returned to Arundel.

Gesta Ste. R. Wend.

Gesta Ste.

Meanwhile, the Bishop of Winchester beset all cross-

CHAP. IV.

roads; and, as some said, met and parleyed with the earl en route. It may, in sooth, 'contradict all sound reasoning that the king's brother should friendly embrace the invader or have relations of amity with one armed to uphold the Pretender;' but events justify that charge. Henry feared to fall with Stephen; and the bishop, with a numerous retinue of knights and men-at-arms, joined the king at Arundel 'as though he had not fallen in with the earl by the way.' He found Stephen vigilantly besieging: he insinuated that, while the king loitered here, Gloster rallied at Bristol; urging, as better policy and more acceptable generally, that Matilda should be induced to join Robert; for the adversaries being in one mass might be crushed at once!

A.D. 1139.

Stephen 'reverenced the hierarchy,' believed in a brother's faith. 'Hearkening to perfidious counsels' rather than despairing in the siege, he paused. I apprehend that envoys moved between camp and castle: that Alice spake with Stephen face to face. The habit of priests and monks wending to and fro between hosts —exampled at Exeter a while since—the chivalric tone now in ascendant, the reception by both parties of the legate's advice and the prelate's personal fartherance of the plan, warrant so much. 'Queen Alice, being awed by the king's majesty, sware that, by her will, no enemy of his had come into England: but that, saving her dignity, she had granted hospitality to persons of station who were formerly attached to her.' And, albeit one charges Alice with 'female inconstancy and breach of faith towards those whom she had invited,' all conditions of the situation absolve her. In result, the king gave safe conduct to Matilda, and honourable, 'since she were his cousin;' and, committing her to

H. Hunt. R. Hoved. J. Wig.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

J. Wig. Gesta Ste. i. p. 57.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1139.

care of the bishop-legate and of Waleran Count of Meulan that they should lead her to Bristol, himself raised the siege of Arundel and marched on Wallingford.

R. Wend. J. Wig.

The earl of Gloster, on escaping Stephen, had entered Wallingford—then held by that Bryan Fitz Count who had escorted Matilda to betrothal—and thence passed

A.D. 1127. Oct. 12. J. Wig.

to Gloster, wherein Milo Fitz Walter, the Constable, received him. And here Matilda, coming from Bristol, joined her friends. Bryan, seized of the lordship of Abergavenny and Overwent in the neighbourhood of Monmouth, and Milo, possessed, in his wife's right, of a large part of Brecknock, besides estates in Gloster and

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

Hereford, enlisted and fortified in Matilda's behalf. And one Robert Fitz Hubert clandestinely entered Malmesbury and burnt it. These acts, with other like

Gesta Ste. i. p. 58. W. Malm.

proofs of defection, becoming known to him, the king hastily constructed two forts (one a church tower) over against Wallingford and garrisoned them; and having occupied the small fort of Cerne, marched on Malmesbury, re-took it, captured the rebel Fitz Hubert, and

Gesta Ste. i. pp. 60, 61.

then assailed Trowbridge, which Humphrey de Mohun had munitioned for Matilda.

At this moment, Milo, with picked troops, rode by night to Wallingford and, falling impetuously on the royal forces, slew, wounded, chained, and countermarched victoriously.

The inherent evils of the feudal system showed themselves in factions which a strong king would have put

J. Wig.

down, under which 'the mild king' sank.

While Matilda lay at Bristol she had 'exercised the prerogatives of the crown of England as she pleased.' Now, at Gloster, she received submission and homage of the citizens and people thereabout.

CHAP. IV.

To Gloster, then, large, strong, stored, gather from all quarters the disaffected and the violent: all whose possessions had been wrecked by the royal arms, all who, for any cause, are hostile to the king. And thence, as aforetime from Bristol, yet in weightier, embodied, form, pass outward the columns, the wedges of revolution. The booty brought in daily, the flaming villages, the desert towns, the population of all degrees bound with thongs and awaiting ransom, proclaim civil war; the dire catastrophe of 'a nation lost in luxury and idleness, enervated by excess and ebriety, puffed up with pride, which had provoked God's wrath.' As far as the remotest border, the practice of freebooting and of domineering had an access. Whole herds of cattle were driven off their pastures: all persons known to be faithful to the king were harassed by fire and sword: here the loyal were betrayed, there denuded: sworn allies burst the bonds of amity and an universal discord betokened destruction of the realm. Every man secured himself as he might. Every man became a robber. 'It is better to mourn over these things than to relate them.'

A.D. 1139. Gesta Ste. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. Gesta Ste.

Worcester, in panic, hurried to the altar. SS. Oswald and Wulfstan help! Where the sacrifice of praise should rise, now piled furniture. In the nave, quarters for townsfolk, in the aisles, councils of war and of safety. Little room for the ministers of holy rites amid chests and sacks. Within, the *miserere* of clergy; without, wailing of infants; sobs mingling with music. Misery of miseries! The rood lowered, the shrines stripped, the image of Mary, most blessed mother, hidden away. Curtains and palls, albs and copes, stoles and chasubles, secreted in recesses of the walls. All that gave grace and pomp to celebration of divine service on festivals,

J. Wig.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1139.

all the varied magnificence of the house of God, vanished. 'On Tuesday 7th of the ides of November, at daybreak, having chanted *primes* and being at *laud*, horror fell upon us. Lo! an army beset us. Gloster had risen in power; and a countless host, horse and foot, had come to attack, pill, burn, our city and our abbey. In alarm for the treasures of the sanctuary, we put on albs; and, in procession, the bells tolling, bore our most gentle patron S. Oswald's relics out of the church and carried them through the cemetery even while the enemy were rushing in from one gate to the other. They ran to and fro, they gathered, they hurried amain to assault a strong fort on the southern side, hard by the castle; our people obstinately resisting. Repulsed here, beacons fired in the northern quarter haled them thither; and, there being no wall on that side, the whole volume, mad with fury, rushed tumultuously in and blazed the town about. Alas! much of the city is destroyed. Immense plunder is carried off, chattels of all kinds, hence; oxen, sheep, horses, from the country parts. Many are taken in the streets and suburbs and, coupled like hounds, are driven off. Rich or poor they are put under ransom and sworn to the discharge.' Count Waleran, for the nonce Earl of Worcester—having conducted Matilda only so far as Calne,—on beholding these ravages, mourned; and, 'as though the wrong had been done to himself, resolved.' Hasting to Sudely, he rendered evil for evil; afterwards, destroying the Earl of Gloster's 'magnificent house' nigh Tewkesbury, could boast that he had never made so great a conflagration in Normandy or in England. King Stephen, coming from Oxford, saw the disasters; lodged four days, it would seem sympathising; and, in some vague prospect

Nov. 13.

W. Malm.

J. Wig.

of reconciliation, set as constable therein William son of Walter de Beauchamp the county sheriff. CHAP. IV.

Distressed by intelligence that sacrilegious bands had forced the monastery of S. Ethelbert King and Martyr at Hereford, Stephen removed his camp to Leominster. Here, 'certain taking counsel, sware fealty: others said, "Though we will not swear, the king may believe us if he please."' And the time of Advent intervening—Stephen at Worcester again,—one Maurice, eminent for piety, being Elect Bishop of Bangor, attested and confirmed, declined to homage. "There is one present whom I look on as my spiritual father, who forbade me." Yet, on 'reasons,' he added, "If ye who are men of high repute have done this, I too swear fealty to the king." The social terrorism is to be noted. 'A darkness hath come over my native land. Lowering clouds from the depths of hell rise over it. Lo! frenzy, shrieks, burnings, rapines, slaughters and bad faith, rush on! Men, asleep in their homes, be surprised. Perjury is in vogue. Lying is deemed noble. Bands of villains wreck tombs and temples, lay hands on priests, violate women, torture innocents. Famine approaches apace. The flesh is consumed. Bone and skin breathes out the fleeting souls! Who can give sepulture to crowds of dying?' 'Everywhere are murders, conflagrations, tumults, mourning, deadly fear.'

A.D. 1139. Dec. 3. H. Hunt. R. Hoved. R. Wend.

The city of Hereford had yielded without a stand. Stephen, unable to rescue a few brave men blocked in the castle, had wheeled on Bristol, had burnt the region about Dunster. All had been inglorious. He had failed at Trowbridge. His garrison in Winchcomb had been defeated, Cerne had fallen back, and Harptree.

W. Malm. Oct. Gesta Ste. i. p. 60.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1139. Gesta Ste. Nov.

Devizes alone remained staunch to him in the west. For all which, 'unappalled at the tide gyring and swelling,' Stephen kept the helm. "By God's birth, I will not be a fallen king."

As at Bristol, so at Arundel, so at Wallingford,—in the exigencies of his career hitherto, activity nor valour nor military experience had availed in presence of crafty or unwise counsels. His best acts were all ill-timed. Nay, his humane, gracious, temper, in waving aside awe from his sceptre, had set free the savage instincts of a people now at least incapable of self-government. In this, in diffidence of his own judgment, in 'over trust of others,' Stephen proved an unfit King of England at his epoch. The stern order-compelling Conqueror, ruffian Rufus, clerkly Henry, had better sped than he, the brave, courteous, generous.

J. Wig.

H. Hunt.

And, from Worcester, Stephen returned to Oxford and thence to Sarum; purposing to celebrate Christmas there, crowned and with all royal customs. 'But where the king spent Christmas and Easter it matters not; for now all that had made the court splendid, even the regalia handed down through the long line of his predecessors, had disappeared. The treasury he had found full now empty, the realm torn by intestine war!'

G. Neubrig. i. 6. W. Malm. Gesta Ste. Dec. 4. Gesta Ste. J. Wig. R. de Monte, col. 455.

Shortly ere this, Roger Bishop of Sarum, enervated, broken in heart, having placed on the altar the residue of his money and his utensils towards perfecting his church, deceased of quartan ague. The canons however, took 'the vast quantity of plate, the gold and silver exquisitely wrought, and the coin, value in all 2,000 lbs., and presented the same to Stephen. And the king gave forty marks thereof towards roofing the church: and with twenty marks thereof he relieved the canons' wants; exonerating them from all taxes

on their lands; promising moreover, should peace return, to refund the rest for benefit of Sarum. And the churches, lands and possessions, which Bishop Roger had appropriated, King Stephen restored to ecclesiastical uses; subsequently reinstating the two monasteries Malmesbury and Amesbury and causing the respective abbots thereof to be enthroned. A.D. 1138-9.

Meantime Normandy wrestled. Roger de Toeni levying his people attacked Bréteuil: Baldwin (IV.) of Hainault with eighty men-at-arms, Peter de Maule with forty, Simon the Red with twenty, joined. The husbandmen were threshing corn in the open street, women winnowing; heaps of straw and chaff lay scattered before the houses; little children, haply, playing therein. The stranger threw in the brand; in twinkling of an eye, the town blazed and smouldered; the church with all persons therein and the burghers' wealth consumed in flame, and the surprised garrison hardly reached the tower. But shortly Roger made peace with the Bellomonts; and, being presented to King Stephen by Waleran and Robert, reconciled himself on honourable terms. A.D. 1138. Sept. 7. O. Vit. xiii. 38. A.D. 1138.

The Count of Anjou laid siege to Falaise for eighteen days in vain; R. de Lucy defending, who daily, in derision, threw open the gates and dared assault. Geoffrey retiring, sacked, wasted, sacred things, household stuffs; till, panic-struck one night, he fled amain, leaving tents full of clothes and arms, carts laden with bread and wine. Ten days later, returning and investing Falaise, he swept off the substance of such as had straggled home; and, for three weeks, unceasingly harried the frontier. He came to Touque, resolved to assail Bonneville on the morrow. He found large houses in the bourg, deserted all; and, quartering Oct. 1. Nov.

CHAP. IV.

A.D. 1138–9.

therein, sat down to carouse. Presently W. Troussebot sent 'some wretched boys and common women' who, creeping in, unawares, dispersed themselves and, at once, fired Touque in five-and-forty places. Amidst crackling and shouts, darkness and smoke, none knew friend from foe; and the Bonneville troops, ready to havoc, drew the rein while the Angevins spurred for life to Argentan.

'Many Norman lords favoured the enemy, nor protected their own people; rather pilled and oppressed them. And, for the most part, unarmed peasantry, by God's help, bare the brunt of these inroads.'

A.D. 1139. O. Vit. xiii. 41.

Rotrou Count of Perche, in King Stephen's pay, marched on Pont Echaufré; whereupon the eight stipendiary men-at-arms therein, being half-starved, capitulated. Then were driven out of the country and disseized Ribault, Simon the Red, and other nephews of that Ralf the Red, who, to King Henry's grief, sank in the Blanche Nef. And thus Normandy also tare itself.

CHAPTER V.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1139–40.

'ELY, a pleasant isle, populous, fertile,' surrounded by fenny Cam and plashy Ouse and the many confluents of either, by marshes, swamps, jungles, had, from immemorial times, rucked like a bird upon the waters, in imagination safe. Here the injured and the outlaw found asylum. Here Hereward, 'last of the Saxons,' stood at bay. Here, at a later day, one less renowned, scarcely less heroic, rallied the surviving patriots of Evesham and of Kenilworth. In itself a fortress, approachable over one narrow causeway and at that point fronted by a castle, important as a barrack, as a check between the eastern and midland parts, between the Crosskeys Wash and the bosom of the land,—an outwork against rebellion and against invasion,—successive kings had confided the Hold to its baronial bishop. As the see of Durham to the Scots' border, so the see of Ely stood guardian of these marches—the prelate of either see being chosen, guerdoned, to that end. Gesta S. i.

Now, whether the Bishop of Sarum had in anywise restrained his nephew, or the reversion of his wealth and his unhappy end had irritated, Nigel, Bishop of Ely, 'laying aside his spiritual weapons and the warfare of ecclesiastical discipline, became a man of blood; and, hiring bands capable of all villainies, molested his neighbours, specially the loyal.'

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1140. J. Wig. Gesta Ste.

A few days after Christmas—the king and court having removed from Sarum to Reading—on word that the bishop had overtly revolted, Stephen, with a large body of troops, marched on Ely, surveyed, consulted and resolved. 'By advice of a clever monk,' having collected boats and wattled rods and arranged them so as to bridge the stream where it ran slackest, he passed over, threading 'slimy marishes' under guidance of the same. Penetrating the isle, capturing men, money and other booty, he took the castle also and the bishop's treasure. But the bishop, escaping thence, 'fled like a hireling' to Gloster and openly embraced Matilda's cause.

Everywhere civil war gat access of bitterness. In the turmoil chroniclers confuse themselves and those who would arrange events. Dates—even those most precious to churchmen—fail; and 'before this' and 'after that' and 'meantime' lose point and meaning.

Jan. 21. J. Wig.

Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 'full of years,' retiring, put on the cowl at Pontefract and shortly departed

Feb. 5.

this life. Some canons elected William, their treasurer,

R. Hoved.

whom the legate consecrated; others set up Henry Murdach and sustained him.

J. Wig. O. Vit. xiii. 42.

The king, being at Winchester in council, took into consideration the realm's affairs. By advice of his peers, he gave the bishopric of Sarum to Philip Harcourt (one of the Bellomonts?), chancellor; thereby offending the legate who had desired that see for Henry de Sulli, his brother William's son. Stephen, however, granted the Abbey of Fécamp to his nephew.

February.

And King Stephen and King Louis compacted; and, with consent of their respective barons, betrothed the Ætheling Eustace to the Adelize Constance. The queen and many English nobles assisted. Since no blessing

followed, some would have it that Bishop Roger's wealth had availed to arrange this marriage; but the exchequer was empty and the daughters of France were not marketable in that sense. CHAP. V. A.D. 1140. R. Wend.

In Lent—at which season it would seem the monks abstained from food till the ninth hour of the day— 'about the hour of nones (three p.m.) when men eat, the sun and day were darkened so that we lighted candles to eat by.' Fasting, nervous, 'some fancied chaos had come again,' till others, learning the cause, 'went out and beheld the stars around the sun.' Folk were astonied. 'The sun was eclipsed by the moon; though, while the latter rode in the dragon's tail, the sun illumined its head.'. And 'it obtained among many that the king would not reign another year.' March 20. A.S Chron. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. W. Malm.

In Cornwall, W. Fitz-Richard, holding of the king, had broken faith. He had admitted into the royal castle Reginald de Dunstanville—the late king's bastard by Sibyl Corbet—and given him his daughter in marriage with full possession of the county. Reginald, thus ensconced and seized, had, by fear of arms, garrisoned all fortresses with his partisans and thence oppressed the king's adherents. Upon him, therefore, Stephen came in power; quickly recovered his forts; and, on leaving the county in charge of Alan the Savage, enjoined continual warfare till Reginald should be reduced. The Earl of Gloster, 'rejoicing that the king lay cooped in a corner, distant from his main army,' now assembled a great body of men with stores of all kinds and presumed, by forced marches, to intercept him. But Stephen, on secret intelligence, had summoned all the barons of Devon and already drew nigh cheerfully to open battle; whereupon the earl pru- Gesta Ste. i. p. 65.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1140.

dently drew off towards Bristol and the king marched without let, laying flat many traitors' castles by the way —some of them evacuating on mere tidings, others on storm. Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, were now tranquillised, at least partially and to view.

Gesta Ste. i. p. 66. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. J. Wig.

Robert Fitz-Hubert—that Fleming bold and wily, the Earl of Gloster's mercenary, who, trusting in his own might, feared neither man nor God; who had seen four-and-twenty monks a-burning and would fain, by his own hand, kindle as many once and again; who had vaunted moreover to grieve the saints by sack of Wilton and Malmesbury,—nearing the wall, ladders of thong in hand, scaled the stately castle of Devizes, caught the guard sleeping; and, after four days in blockade, getting possession of the keep, domineered extravagantly. Forthwith the earl sent his son with troops to receive custody thereof; whom the adventurers, foully menacing, drave from the gate. 'He had taken this place for his own behoof, neither for the earl nor for the king,' such his answer. And, in result, a strong band of aliens, the truants of either camp consorting, defied both armies. 'He would now reach the whole district from Winchester to London and get from abroad soldiers to support him.' The royal castle of Marlborough, held adversely to the belligerents by John Fitz-Gilbert, lying within reach, Fitz-Hubert 'marked it for his own;' and, sending amicable messages, craved a parley as it were for mutual counsel. But here craft met craft. John, closing the gate, imprisoned Robert; and, sallying, captured or dispersed the band attendant on that stratagem. The Earl of Gloster thereupon capitulated with Fitz-Gilbert for delivery of Fitz-Hubert; offering 500 marks if only the Fleming were left in his hands for fifteen days.

This being arranged, and a promise having been extorted in the interim from the captive, the earl restored Fitz-Hubert to Fitz-Gilbert. Subsequently, on giving hostages, the earl again received Fitz-Hubert whom now he brought bound to the walls of Devizes. But here the mercenary captain retracted his pledged word while his garrison, secretly persuaded by letters from Marlborough, stood to their oath of 'no surrender.' Whereupon, when his two nephews had been hanged before his face, Robert Fitz-Hubert also was hanged 'like a common thief.' 'All praise to God who delivereth up the wicked.' A.D. 1140. J. Wig.

Then Geoffrey Talbot—who more than once had changed side—again attempted Hereford. Getting into the cathedral, he ejected the clergy, dug up the cemetery to form ramparts, set engines on the tower and shocked all religious feeling, while ex-constable Milo Fitz-Walter from another quarter besieged the castle. We learn no more. The manuscript fails. Gesta Ste. i. p. 69.

During Pentecost, the king resided in the Tower of London, attended by the Bishop of Séez; other prelates disdaining or fearing. And, a while after, by mediation of the legate, a conference took place nigh Bath; on the part of Matilda, the Earl of Gloster and others unnamed; on Stephen's, the primate, the legate, and the queen. But the one 'not averse to the decision of the Church,' the other wisely reticent on that head, they wasted words and time to no purpose. And civil war continued. The earl with his retainers marched to Bath. The king forwarded light troops and set an ambush. The squadrons met; and the knights John and Roger, routing the earl, mortally wounded Geoffrey Talbot. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. May. J. Wig. before Aug. 15.

Then the earl, beckoned by Ralf Pagenel, took in

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1140. Aug. 22. before Sept. 8.

hand the Earl of Warwick's knights and those of his own county with a host of common soldiers and suddenly beset Nottingham, the community of which, unready—since from the Conquest to this day they had been unvexed, peaceful, flourishing,—refuged in the churches. The freebooters having tightly bound one reputed rich, hurried him home: this man opening his vaults, they descended to clutch his hoard: but he, slipping away, bolted the doors of chambers and hall; and, setting on fire, burnt his house, his goods, and some thirty thieves therewith. And the flames spread thence throughout the town and consumed it. Almost all who had fled to the altar, men, women, children, fearing to come forth, perished thereat. Every one caught was carried off.

Sept. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii.

And again the legate motioned for peace. He sailed for France, he deliberated with King Louis, with Count Theobald, with divers clerks, and he returned fraught with 'counsels wholesome for the country could they have been carried into effect.' Matilda and the Earl of Gloster indeed assented freely, but King Stephen considered and, no doubt wisely, rejected them altogether.

Ante, p. 250. A.S.Chron.

Hitherto Ranulf Earl of Chester and his elder half-brother William de Roumere, sometime governour of Normandy, had been loyal: now they revolted; and 'there arose a very great war between them and the king. Not because Stephen did not give what was due, or all that could be asked—even as to others—but because the more he gave, the worse men behaved by him.'

Cont. Ingulphi, sub anno 1114.

The pretence specious, the claim utterly unjust. Lucia (their mother), eventual heiress of Ælfgar, Saxon Earl of Mercia in the Confessor's time, had married thrice: first Yvo Taillebois, Lord of Heyland (Holland); secondly, Roger (de Roumere) Lord of Bo-

lingbroke in Lindsey; thirdly, Ranulph de Meschines (Briquesart) Viscount of Bayeux. On Yvo's decease (their sole child, a daughter, having died childless) the vast district of Holland—we know not how much more—vested absolutely in Lucia who, in a month, married Roger; of this second union came William de Roumere the younger. Subsequently, on marrying Ranulf, Lucia conveyed her hereditaments in Lincolnshire—(I cannot explain her power therein with reference to the preceding coverture)—to King Henry in exchange for the earldom of Chester, which earldom, on decease of his cousin Hugh d'Abrincis, the king granted to Lucia's third husband, Ranulph de Meschines and his issue. Thus the earldom of Chester had been purchased for the third family, apparently at cost of the second family. Some interest in the earldom of Lincoln may have been mooted: but earldoms had not yet become hereditary of *right*; and that of Lincoln, once held by William de Roumere the elder, had not descended to his brother and heir, Roger, father of William the younger. And when William the younger, failing to rescind the transaction between his mother and King Henry, rebelled, he forfeited whatever lay in him; and, on reconciliation, received only 'the greater part of his inheritance'—not the exchanged lands (wheresoever in the county), not the earldom, but Corby in Kesteven, Spalding in Holland, perhaps. The castle of Lincoln, a royal burgh, belonged to the king, albeit the seat of the king's earl. And those lands formerly held by Yvo or by Roger which had not been restored to William de Roumere, had vested in the king either by escheat or by the exchange. Neither Ranulf nor William had a legal stand-point in feudal law.

Ante, p. 196.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

CHAP. V.

Demands, haply overt seizures (for about this time the Earl of Chester had stretched on Carlisle), brought Stephen to Lincoln. A reconciliation of some sort had been effected; some augmentation of honours had been granted; Ranulf promising that he would make amends for all in which he had offended. But Stephen learned to be cautious if not distrustful; and, in departing, he still watched these brothers' movements.

J. Hagust. col. 268. Before Christmas. A.D. 1140–1. Gesta Ste. i. p. 70. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. R. Nigri, Chron. II. p. 183. O. Vit. xiii. 43. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

On a day, in Yuletide, when the garrison played abroad, the Countesses of Chester and of Roumere (so called) entered the castle of Lincoln on a friendly visit to the knight-castellan's dame. After a while, Earl Ranulf followed—without arms or even cloke,—accompanied by three soldiers only, as it were to escort the ladies home. Suddenly, however, grasping bars or staves and such weapons as fell to hand, these ejected the few warders and let in Count William and his men-at-arms, shut out all others, occupied the tower and overawed the town. The king, adjured by Bishop Alexander and the citizens, hurried to the fore—'grieved that whom he loved were base: irate that those he honoured should be in rebellion.' 'Coming quickly, and by night, he took some seventeen horsemen outlying in the town, the townsfolk heartily helping: but Ranulf and William, with wives, children and intimates, lay in the castle, safe from surprise. The besieged scant in numbers and in munition, the royal troops investing and from engines hurling dirt and stones and by military machinery greatly terrifying, Ranulf, young, active, venturesome, with a few, passed deftly —possibly, by connivance—through some unheeded port; sped to Chester, summoned his vassals; thence made known his acts and consequents to Gloster, his

After Christmas.

G. Neubrig. i. 8.

father-in-law; and presently cast himself at Matilda's feet. CHAP. V.

Then the earl, with Milo, rose; and, beckoning to the Welsh, marched: and a formidable, ill-conditioned, body led by Meredyth and Cadwallader followed; and the feudaries of Chester and all men in arms against the king converged on Lincoln. A.D. 1141.

On reaching floody Trent, the relieving force, Gloster foremost, swam or waded over. And here, for the first time, the earl spake out his purpose. "He cannot fly: we must prevail." Feb. 2. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

The king, having personally reconnoitred, bade a council of war. Some would have him shun the conflict toward; and, leaving a few troops on guard and block, levy throughout the land. Others prayed him reverence S. Mary; that, haply, by delay of envoys, the feast of purification might pass sans bloodshed. But Stephen resolved. While at mass, by dawn, the king, according to the order and office of that day, bearing a candle, the wax brake and the flame vanished: but, he still holding, one bound up and relighted the ritual implement. A token, this, that evil should darken his career, but transiently. The pyx, also, with its contents fell from Bishop Alexander's hands upon the altar, if we may credit the marvel-enhancing monks of later times. O. Vit. *ut supra.* Feb. 2. Gesta Ste. i. pp. 70–71. Ro. Gloster. R. Wend.

The enemy being in sight, the king now detached horse and foot to dispute the ford and arrayed his battle: but the earl had already passed the river, 'threaded the marsh' and, having driven in the outpost, set his troops in order. R. Wend. R. Hoved. Gesta Ste. H. Hunt. W. Malm.

Each host had formed in three bodies; brigades, we should say. In the royal van Bretons, Flemings, mercenaries, under Alan (the Savage) of Dinan and William O. Vit.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1141.

d'Ypres. Opposite these the wild Welsh. The king (himself and some of his immediates on foot) with certain nobles and their retainers occupied the centre fronting Earl Ranulf and his cavalry (these likewise in part dismounted) and the feudaries of Chester. Waleran de Meulan, William de Warrenne, Gilbert de Clare Earl of Pembroke, with knights, Norman and English, accompanied, in rear on one part, on the other the Earl of Gloster, ex-constable Milo, 'the men of Bath,' the disinherited, the aggrieved, the West-country men. But, clearly some changes of position happened: for, before onset, the Welsh, 'ill armed, though full of spirits,' are found 'disposed on the wings,' i.e. on either side of the main battle: the Earl of Gloster with his own people then being in the first line, the exiled nobles in the second line, the Earl of Chester in the third line. And it is probable that these three lines—if they should not rather be taken as 'corps'—ranged abreast; for, to the 'gentlemen of Bath' fell the honour of striking the first blow for their inheritances. Farther, the Bretons and Flemings when brought into action are found separate. Alan, Waleran, Hugh Bigod, Simon de S. Liz and William de Warrenne, leading the former, William d'Ypres and William d'Aumale (York and Albemarle) the latter.

H. Hunt. O. Vital. xiii. 43.

H. Hunt. Cf. Ro. Gloster's Chron. pp. 452, sq. R. Hoved.

During these military movements, various speakers animated the hosts. The Earl of Chester, 'in bright armour,' is reported to have thanked his allies, gracefully offering to bear the brunt. The Earl of Gloster, after vaunting his own merits and the merits of the cause, coarsely vituperated the adverse peers by name: Alan of Bretagne the 'execrable'; Waleran of Meulan the 'vainglorious, perfidious in word and act, last to fight, first to fly'; Hugh Bigod 'doubly perjurous';

W. d'Aumale 'intolerably filthy'; and 'that other earl, votary of Bacchus, apostate from Mars'; Simon de S. Liz, 'who talks but acts not, who promises but never gives'; William d'Ypres—'tongue fails to epithet his crooked ways, his disgusting impurities.' 'So of the rest, all, like the king, practised in the arts of plunder, all together tainted with the sin of perjury.' "Ye whom King Henry exalted, Stephen hath humbled. Rouse yourselves, then, relying on God's justice: take the vengeance he offers to your hand." CHAP. V. A.D. 1141.

In the opposite ranks, Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert (de Clare—brother of Richard Strongbow) speaking for the king—who had not voice sufficient—from a mound whence he could be seen and heard, laid out the justice of the cause: "Our allegiance, before God, to our king,—and this at peril. In numbers; not inferior in cavalry, stronger in infantry. The valour of so many earls, barons, veteran soldiers, needs no encouragement from me. Our king is, in himself, a host. The Lord's anointed is in the midst of you. Fear not to do your devoir. Earl Robert's purpose is known to all. He threatens much, yet doeth little. His mouth is the mouth of a lion, his heart the heart of a hare. The Earl of Chester is audacious, truly, but rash. His desires are ever beyond his reach. His following is unsteady; fear ye not the multitude of them. Despise the Welsh, rude in war; they shall fall like beasts in the toil. For the rest, traitors, treachers, the more there be of such the more sure of self-destruction they. Be ye mindful of your renown this day, of your fathers' glory! Lift up your hearts, stretch out your hands!" Cf. W. M. Hist. Nov. iii. O. Vit. xiii. 43.

I have abstracted these exhortations, briefly, not as historic documents, but with a view to illustrate the monk's conception of military use and the traditions

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1141.

then extant of the practice of classic historians in that respect. Some stirring words, doubtless, precede pitched battles. But I apprehend the leader who should indulge the supreme moment in rhetorical harangue, in personal abuse, in exciting to vengeance or to spoil, would fail in presence of the meanest marshal. These, then, if genuine at all, are factitious in the main. Untrue, partly. For Gloster did not yield the place of honour to Chester as his speech would infer: nor did Ranulf, though finally in action, bear the

O. Vit. brunt as he had boasted was his due. The royal army did not equal the adversary in numbers, albeit 'the best knights were with the king.' Neither can we

H. Hunt. realise the venerable clerk noting in opposite camps, nor trust the hearsay of hostile informants when reduced to one plane of oratory.

H. Hunt. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. Amid 'blasts of trumpets and tramplings of horse' the armies advanced and clashed. 'The king's knights preluding in joust'—pricking with the spear. The confusion was instant. Rout consummated 'in the

O. Vit. twinkling of an eye.' 'Flemings and Bretons first gave way, emboldening the adversary, evoking panic in their

H. Hunt. fellows.' 'Some were slain, some captured, some driven from the field:' for the Flemings and D'Aumale's troops had charged the Welsh when attempting a movement in flank and had broken up their body; and the Earl of Chester, in attacking the chargers ere they had re-

O. Vit. Gesta Ste. formed, scattered them like the rest. The royal cavalry dispersed. Even before battle joined, De Meulan, De Warrenne, De Clare and others of name, Normans and English, fled. *Relictâ non benè parmulâ.* The king

H. Hunt. with his infantry alone stood firm. 'The enemy pressing as in assault of a castle, the war waged terribly around this citadel': helmets and swords gleamed,

cries and shouts mingled, the horses trode down the footmen. 'No respite nor breathing for any.' Only where the king passioned, axe in hand, was pause: there, all drew back, from the unmatched vigour of his arm, the mortal heft. Hereupon, Earl Ranulf with the whole weight of his feudaries condensed upon the little band so royally doing. It is said that Stephen stunned the Earl of Chester, who had dismounted. Still the Norwegian axe hacked down, bare back, till, this shivered and the high-tempered sword, now chapeless, failing in his hand, Stephen, exhaust, struck by a stone, fell to the ground. Then one De Kaines pushed in and seizing him by the helm, cried, "Here! here! I have the king." And they came, thronging now, and made King Stephen prisoner. And the brave few, Baldwin de Clare, Richard Fitz-Urse, Enguerrand de Sai, Ilbert de Lacy, who fought with him to the last, were taken with him. None could fly where all were hemmed in. All surrendered or were slain. The city of Lincoln fell to the spoiler, the ravisher, the flames; and, abandoning wives and children, the citizens—some say about 500 in number—overcrowding the boats, perished in the flood.

H. Hunt. O. Vit. J. Hagust. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. H. Hunt. G. Neubrig. i. 8. H. Hunt. O. Vit.

So they led King Stephen into the castle and disarmed him. And, as he spake, the while, of this shame being meed for his sins, they who stood around wept, with sobs compassionating him: for he said, moreover, that 'such as had sworn fealty and done him homage had been guilty of grievous crime.' All felt that disgrace had fallen on their country. All knew that certain great lords with a few of their retainers had joined the king but had sent the mass of their vassals to fight on the contrary part.

Gesta Ste. i. pp. 71, 72. O. Vit.

And presently the Earl of Gloster brought King Stephen before Matilda, that she might be certified

O. Vit. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. J. Wig. Feb. 9.

CHAP. V.

that her enemy had ceased to reign. And they put him into ward at Bristol.

A.D. 1141. H. Hunt. O. Vit.

But William d'Ypres (*proh pudor!*) escaped the field and joined the queen in Kent; and De Meulan and De S. Liz and De Warrenne and many barons pledged themselves to fight for the king and his heirs.

On the other hand, the Legate-Bishop of Winchester and certain of the Londoners now seceded to 'the party of the Angevins.' And the land was astonied. Stephen, ever struggling as a lion in a net, had been immured. The idea of a prisoned king was new at least in England.

Gesta Ste.

J. Wig.

'The lady empress-queen, Henry's daughter,' overjoyed at this event, possessed now, as it seemed to her, of the kingdom for which fealty had been sworn to her, held a council at Gloster; and, attended by the bishops Bernard of S. David's and Nigel of Ely, Gilbert Abbot of Winchester, many barons, knights, abbots, two convents of monks and one of nuns, in procession, clergy, citizens, crowds, hymning and lauding, progressed to Cirencester and received allegiance there. Thence towards Winchester.

Feb. 16.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. March 1.

Envoys had already 'dealt with' Bishop Henry; and a conference had been arranged which dates from an open plain on the west side of that city. A day dark and rainy and foreboding. Here, enjoined by the legate, Matilda sware that 'all matters of import, specially the bestowing of bishoprics and abbeys, should await his decision if he, with holy church, would receive her as sovereign and be true to her.' And to this in her behalf the Earl of Gloster, Bryan Fitz-Count, ex-constable Milo and others, severally pledged themselves. On his part, Bishop Henry, legate, 'with certain of his party' unnamed, vowed that so long as she kept covenant he and they would keep it.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1141. March 2.

On the morrow, then, the legate on her right, the Bishop of S. David's on her left, the Bishops Alexander of Lincoln, Nigel of Ely, Robert of Hereford, Robert of Bath, the Abbots of Abingdon, Reading, Malmesbury, Gloster, Tewkesbury and many more, 'in splendid procession,' Matilda entered the cathedral of Winchester. J. Wig. And thereupon the 'famous city' was delivered over to her, the bishop placing at her disposal the royal castle W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. therein 'and the royal crown, which she had always so ardently coveted,' and the treasury, 'small in amount,' which the king had left. And the legate caused Matilda to be proclaimed in the market-place before the people 'sovereign lady and queen'; and, cursing those who cursed her, blessing those who blessed her, he excommunicated her adversaries and absolved those who should submit to her government. A.S.Chron.

Matilda with a court removed to Wilton and there kept Easter. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, however, coming into the presence, declined to acknowledge her as queen, till he should have personally spoken with the king. Afterwards, he and other prelates and some laymen of like mind, on conversing with Stephen, obtained leave to bend under the exigencies of the time. J. Wig. W. Malm.

Matilda possessed the regalia. But none set crown upon her head: none put sceptre in her hand.

When the Count of Anjou learned that his wife had triumphed, he hastened into Normandy; sending messengers to the Seigneurs, demanding on their fealty surrender of their castles and peace. Foremost, Rotrou Count of Perche reconciled: then, Robert (Bossu) Earl of Leicester, treating with Rotrou, gat release of Richer de l'Aigle and made truce for himself and his brother Waleran with the Angevin. The garrisons of Verneuil O. Vit. xiii. 44. Lent.

CHAP. V.

A.D. 1141.

and of Nonancourt, with other forts on the left bank of the Seine, transferred allegiance. John, Bishop of Lisieux, also, 'after consulting his friends,' concluded.

A conference happened at Mortagne wherein Hugh Archbishop of Rouen and some lords offered the duchy—it is said the kingdom also—to the Count of Blois. But Theobald, pious and pacific, had ceded his rights and cared not to embroil; he professed himself content so Geoffrey would give back Tours, a city of his feof, release his brother Stephen from durance and return to him and his heirs all their inheritance as it had been in his uncle's time.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141.

Now the greater part of the English people sided with the king: the strongest castles lay in his adherents' hands. In fact, the insurrection, almost localised in the western counties, had been enhanced by hostilities of Welshmen and of Scots; the civil war had been aggravated by mercenaries.

Gesta Ste. i. p. 73.

But the catastrophe at Lincoln affected the public mind variously. Men hoped for peace, or 'welcomed the new light dawning,' or deemed that the crime against Stephen could be expiated only through a long course of national bloodshedding. Gradually, however, cowardice, venality and the current of events, drew many to Matilda. Some, indeed, were surprised, others ousted, but numbers voluntarily proffered service with all their having. Alan of Bretagne Earl of Richmond,—ever politic and selfish,—being caught while in ambush for the Earl of Chester, redeemed himself from fetters by homaging Matilda. He gave up his keys and ceded the county of Cornwall. Hervé the Breton, also,—who had married King Stephen's daughter—weary of the rabble that beleaguered him, delivered up the castle of Devizes and abjured the realm. Hugh de Bellomont, 'careless, effeminate, that he was, yielded Bedford to Milo de Beauchamp; and, from an earl, derogated to a man-at-arms—shortly to a penniless.'

April. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

On the octave of Easter, at Winchester, with great parade, convened Primate Theobald, 'all the bishops'

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141.

and many abbots. 'I will not deny posterity the truth of every circumstance,' says the historian, 'for I was present at this council and perfectly remember it.' Letters excusing absence being read, the legate called the bishops apart, subsequently the abbots, lastly the archdeacons, discoursing of his designs with each order severally, secretly. Nothing transpired. When speaking publicly, he referred to his vicegerency in England under holy see whereby he had convoked the clergy to deliberate on the condition of this country. After a panegyric on him 'in whose reign natives dare make no disturbance, by whose example foreign potentates sought peace,' he touched on the late king's adjuration of the prelates and barons in his daughter's behalf. "But fortune," said he, "was envious of my most excellent uncle and suffered him to die in Normandy without male issue." Continuing on this wise: "Therefore, as it seemed long to wait for a ruler who delayed her coming, we provided for the commonweal and my brother was allowed to reign. Although I gave myself as security between him and God that he would honour and advance holy church, uphold good and abrogate evil laws, yet it grieves me to recal, shames me to say, how far justice failed and prosperity came to end almost within the year. Then were the bishops captured, their possessions seized, abbeys sold, churches robbed, counsels of the abandoned taken, of the virtuous despised. Ye all know how often I admonished him,—more particularly in the council held last year; and that, without redress, I incurred odium. As a matter of right feeling, I should love my brother in the flesh, but, as a supreme duty, I must uphold the cause of my immortal father. Whereupon, since God, without my intervention, hath judged my brother, I, by virtue

April 8.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141.

of my legation, invite you to deliberate, lest the realm, in lack of a ruler, should decay. The case," he added, " was yesterday agitated in private before the major part of the clergy to whose right it properly pertains to elect and crown the prince : first, then, (invoking as is fit) we elect the daughter of that most peaceful and glorious, that rich, that good and, in our time, incomparable, king, as sovereign of England and Normandy and promise her fidelity and support." When all present had applauded or by silence not gainsaid, he concluded, " We have sent for the Londoners, who, through the importance of their city, are almost nobles."

April 9.

But the Londoners, arriving, urged 'on the part of the fraternity, as they call it,' that their lord the king should be set at liberty. " The barons," they said, " who had long since been in fellowship with them, most earnestly solicited this of the lord legate and the archbishop and clergy present." Whereon, 'after a copious and clear answer,' the legate repeated his speech of the previous day, adding " that it did not become the Londoners who were considered as the chief people of England, in the light of nobles, to side with those by whose advice the king had dishonoured holy church, who had deserted their lord in battle, who, in fact, only simulously favoured them to obtain their money."

In some interval, one Christian ('if I rightly remember') the queen's clerk, exhibited a paper which the legate, having perused silently, thrust aside; then, raising his voice to highest pitch, " It is informal," cried he, " improper to be opened in an assembly so great of dignified and religious persons ; for, among other things, it bears the signature of him who, last year,

CHAP. VI.

in like council, attacked certain venerable bishops opprobriously." The allusion suggests Alberic de Vere: but our clerk, undismayed, read out his brief to this effect: "The queen entreats the clergy, specially the Bishop of Winchester, her lord's brother, to restore the king to his kingdom." Still the legate replied as he had replied. On the fifth day, many royalists having been excommunicated—W. Martel, once cup-bearer to King Henry, lately butler to King Stephen, by name, since he had much molested the bishop,—the council brake up. The Londoners retiring 'to consider;' the queen's friends rallying in Kent.

A.D. 1141. Ante, pp. 277–8.

April 10.

H. Hunt.

I pause to comment on Henry de Blois' speech. It is recorded by one who heard it, a client of the Earl of Gloster. The suggestion of a candid writer on Stephen's part, when compared with it, will guide us. 'The bishop was much perplexed. There lay difficulties in the way of supporting the king's cause; the king being in prison, the royal castles unmunitioned. Yet it seemed indecent in the eyes of the world to desert his brother in adversity. He would temporise, therefore; thus securing himself and friends from harm; meantime observing the tendency of affairs, and, should occasion arise, be prompt for a restoration.' The facts were so, such the result. Putting aside the immorality of purpose, what of the proceedings? None knew better than he that the 'peace' in good King Henry's time was no peace; that King Henry had exceeded all bounds of law in compelling the magnates to swear antecedent fealty to Matilda. No proposition is more sure than that those oaths had been repudiated generally by clergy as by laymen. The council in London, presided over by the late king's prime minister, in unanimously calling Stephen to the throne, as unani-

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

Gesta Ste. i. pp. 74, sq.

mously protested against all obligation to the contrary. Present thereat—for he was a privy councillor—or when delivering up the regalia to his brother, the bishop, if not a perjure and a traitor then, had surely absolved himself from the promised allegiance to Matilda. Nor did Matilda delay her coming advisedly or through any accident. 60,000 lbs., taken from the royal treasury at Falaise and distributed among the soldiers on King Henry's death, had subsidised sufficiently; but her paltry raids on Normandy warned her from the greater issue. It may be doubted whether she contemplated action: we must remember the notoriety of the bull which bastardised her: her very questionable rights. Geoffrey received 2,000 lbs. for two years as equivalent for her presumptive claims. Surely that act in law and in conscience had meaning. And the hatred inspired by the Angevins had pervaded the kingdom not less than the duchy. It is evident, too, from the Earl of Gloster's conduct, his tardy homage, his defiance, that in the court of Anjou no pretences moved till turmoil in England (of which Matilda and her husband are free) rendered invasion possible, revolution easy. Henry de Blois gave security for his brother, that so his brother might be king, with what further view we know not. The primacy, the legatine authority, then came in sight: an idea arose of raising Winchester to an archiepiscopate. The papal chair itself might one day grace ambition. Again: 'King Stephen found the realm in commotion:' he failed to quiet it; but he did not vow 'to advance holy church.' If, under pressure of rebellion, he could not 'uphold good laws,' the continuance of evil laws to his day reflects rather on his predecessor; and the hierarchy asserted that the church had lain under oppression

Ante, p. 234.

Ante, p. 250.

Ante, p. 249.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141. Ante, pp. 268, 281.

during King Henry's time. As it suited, so spake they of the past. One while they said they had been hardly dealt with by the late king and hoped better treatment from his successor. Now they said Henry had been just and gracious, Stephen cruel. Truly, Stephen captured the three bishops and confiscated their military muniments; but there is not a single hint that he 'sold an abbey,'—though, having restored Malmesbury to rule, he, 'for a small sum'—and it is noted as a formal act,—liberated that monastery from certain perennial dues; not one example of a church pilled or desecrated by troops under his command—save that he fortified a belfry here and there. Robberies, cruelties, all the excesses of civil war, came forth, as it were, full armed from King Henry's tomb, but had not grown up from Stephen's misrule. Neither can we perceive how the prelate's brotherly love—his brother being his king—impinged on any sense of spiritual duty. We discover in the advice tendered at Arundel, as in the argument about the bishops' castles, an intriguing mind, much casuistry, no conscientious feeling, neither sympathy with Stephen nor love of country—no, nor fear of God. If, indeed, he had naught to do in the battle of Lincoln, yet had he connived at the defence of Ely: had instructed the clergy to revolt from their king; and, at this moment, transgressed English law in arrogating to churchmen the initiative in state affairs, contravened the law of all feudal nations in accepting the king's bondage as final. Nay, the Bishop of Winchester, bound, by his baronial tenure not less than by the '*trinoda necessitas*' as a beneficed clerk, to his king's release, having homaged and sworn fealty to Stephen, now proved himself recreant,—in plain Saxon, '*Nithing.*'

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. ii. A.D. 1140.

Ante, p. 283. Ante, p. 278.

CHAP. VI.

In the rogation days Matilda came to Reading; receiving honourable plaudits and allegiance. Thence she sounded the king's castellan, D'Oyley, who presently surrendered Oxford—which, by some untold means, Stephen had wrested from Bryan Fitz-Count. The Earl of Warwick, also, Roger de Newburgh, 'another weak man more sensual than brave,' hearkened to the charmer at whose feet oaths of fealty quickly fell. In progress, Matilda reached S. Alban's amid religious processions and popular rejoicings. And there she met the Londoners.

A.D. 1141. J. Wig. Gesta Ste. May 4.

Now the citizens of the metropolis were, as the legate said, 'almost noble.' Sokemen, for the most part, and, from a feudal point of view, inferior to military tenants, their chiefs had ranked as thegns under Saxon economy; and, in effect, had been recognised by the Normans as barons. Commerce had enriched them: wealth had given them power in the realm; and a consequent patriotism—though of a turbulent sort—a consentaneous, and for the most part, a right-feeling, force upon the spot had, from the date of the Norman conquest at least, entitled them to decide in the capital the destiny of the country.

Matilda treated with the envoys: but the Londoners, informed on the Winchester council and ill content therewith, put off obeisance from day to day. It is doubtful how far they offered welcome. However, attended by many bishops and nobles and received in a magnificent procession of monks, Matilda entered and took up her abode in Westminster; and, her first care being for the church, gave the see of London to Robert, monk of Reading.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

J. Wig. June 24.

The Earl of Gloster had meantime promoted her dignity by every becoming means. He spake kindly

W. Malm.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141.

to the nobles. He promised much; exhorted adversaries to peace; threatened. Moreover, he had restored the course of order and justice in the districts occupied by his troops. The legate, also, proved himself laudably faithful to Matilda's interests.

Gesta Ste. i. pp. 76–7. J. Wig. H. Hunt. G. Neubrig. i. 9.

Having obtained submission 'of the greater part of the realm'—at least of those parts wherein the civil war had raged,—having taken hostages, received homage, and being now in the royal palace, Matilda, 'through her insufferable pride, alienated the hearts of most men.' 'Instead of that gentle, graceful, bearing proper to her sex and rank, she assumed an air of extreme hauteur, carried herself arrogantly towards all.' Resolving to be forthwith crowned, her language became imperious. Such as were attached to the king and yet had submitted to her, she treated coldly, contemptuously; or with reproaches drave from her presence: others she deprived of feofs and honours. Whatever Stephen had enacted by royal ordinance, that she reversed by word of mouth: his 'irrevocable grants—even to the church,' she revoked. Despotic in act, supercilious in manner, when the legate her cousin, the earl her brother, the King of Scots her uncle, bent the knee, she would not bid them rise: neither grant their requests, nor hear their remonstrance. 'Not relying on any counsel, she would rule of her own mere will.'

Gesta Ste.

At this moment, demanding without courtesy an enormous supply from the Londoners, the citizens expatiated on recent losses and an impending dearth. 'With stern eye and knit brow,' she brake out, 'they had opened wide their purse strings to strengthen Stephen and to weaken her: they were confederate with her enemies. They had no claim on her forbearance.'

CHAP. VI.

A.D.1141.

At this juncture, the queen again petitioned for her lord's release and for restoration of her son's inheritance (Boulogne and Mortagne) under her father's will and family arrangements. But her envoys met scorn. 'The highest, most potent, nobles entreated in that behalf, offering any number of hostages, castles, any sum of money, if only the king were set free; his personal liberty, not his kingdom, guaranteed. She would not listen—even though Stephen should become a monk or a pilgrim.' The Bishop of Winchester implored that the earldoms which belonged to his brother might, as of righteous law, be given to his nephew. She would not at all. The citizens of London petitioned that they might live under the laws of King Eadward instead of under those of her father which were grievous. She spurned them also.

Gesta Ste. J. Wig.

Ib. W. Malm.

So the Londoners departed, moody, to their homes: the legate, 'in disgust,' silently watched the turn of affairs: the magnates drew off; and the queen resolved to attempt by arms what she had failed in by prayer. But Matilda, in revenge, 'with a woman's bitterness, caused the Lord's anointed to be fettered.

Gesta Ste. H. Hunt.

It may be that Stephen, bribing or eluding his keepers, had passed the prescribed limits more than once—and by night; or that public opinion 'contumeliously' spake out against the Earl of Gloster in the king's behalf. Yet the duress times exactly with Matilda's access of pride, while the effort to escape is hypothetic.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

The queen, having raised a splendid body of troops, marched from Kent and halted in Southwark; bidding harass with fire and sword all adherents of the usurper. The Londoners, 'driven like hedgehogs to their houses within the walls, and 'because, from their new mistress

Gesta Ste. p. 78.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141. W. Malm.

who passed all bounds in cruel treatment of them, they hoped nothing,' now confederated with the queen. And the legate-bishop, holding a friendly converse with his brother's wife at Guildford—being 'wrought upon by her tears and concessions,'—bent his mind on the liberation of King Stephen. Moreover, after reconciling with the church all those royalists whom previously he had excommunicated, he disseminated throughout the land —easily, through apostolic media—that 'the empress would seize his person: that she observed no part of what she had sworn: that while all the barons had performed their engagements towards her, she had violated hers to them: that she could not use prosperity with moderation.' And these sentiments were rife in London.

J. Wig. Gesta Ste.

Unaware of such movements or despising them, Matilda pressed her demands upon the agitated city. Instantly the bells tolled. Boom on boom called up the sokemen and the crafts and, from pent to port, the whole people rushed to arms and, issuing 'like swarms of wasps,' gyroned the palace. She, 'just sitting down to dinner in unconscious security,' heard the multitudinous buzz and, being timely warned, rose, mounted and at full gallop sped away. Or ever she had passed the suburbs the angry host had burst into her chambers, pilled her buffet and her wardrobe. And at each cross road, nobles, who had taken horse with her, turned aside; bishops and belted knights, who had arrived in pomp to grace her coronation, meanly sheltered as they might; and, with dashed hopes, Matilda, the Earl of Gloster and a few whose course lay that way, by dint of spur reached Oxford.

The queen now entered London amid general congratulations. And the enthusiasm of reaction, with

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141.

that religious sentiment of loyalty—strong in Norman and Saxon as in every nation capable of liberty and of order, strong in every spirit aware of God's providence and rule,—rallied the downcast partisans of Stephen. By entreaties, by exhortations, by personal example, that excellent woman enlisted citizens and nobles: by adjuring the legate through brotherly love, others by patriotism and the sacred rites of royalty, she procured that all should compass the king's deliverance.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. J. Wig.

The Earl of Gloster with a small retinue rode to Winchester, whether to remonstrate with the bishop or to arrest him; but, 'failing in his endeavours,' retired on Oxford. Matilda, on the other hand, aware of the bishop's aversion, passed to Gloster.

John.

Now, more than all men (her brother excepted), Milo Fitz-Walter, ex-constable of Gloster, on abjuring Stephen, had devoted himself to Matilda. She had adopted his counsels: had been assisted by his prowess. Farther, 'from Milo's own lips' the clerk of Worcester learned 'that up to this date she had not received provision for a single day, save at his cost and by his care.' In direst straights Milo had been faithful; and she now created him Earl of Hereford, 'the more closely to bind him to her service.' With Milo's aid, then, unknown to the Earl her brother, Matilda, disingenuous as proud, marched on Winchester and entered the royal castle while the bishop, for whom she sent, conceiving himself wronged or endangered by the intrusion, left the city by another gate and for ever renounced her cause. A new form of siege ensued. Within, the bishop's adherents and the royalists striving against insurgents, Matilda's troops attacking the Bishop's Tower, kinsmen with kinsmen warring, all wasted by mercenary soldiers. Without, the bishop himself in arms, irate

July 25. Fœd. I. 19.

W. Malm. Aug. 1.

Ann. Wint. fol. 30. G. Neubrig. i. 9.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141. Aug. 2.

as an ousted dignitary, vindictive as a politician foiled. Goaded by rage, senselessly willing to terrify, he set fire to his cathedral city; and the flames, inspired by priestly passion, burned the largest and best quarters,—S. Swithun's excepted: burned more than forty churches, the convent of nuns of S. Mary, the monastery of S. Grimbald (Hyde); and, as 'the great and holy cross made and gorgeously adorned by King Cnut flushed, smoked, blazed and smouldered, three awful claps of thunder, as it were from heaven, announced the desecration and the ruin.' The rood sweated and grew black before the monks' eyes and their imagination trembled: but the bishop said to Simon de S. Liz, "Let it be your care, lord earl, to raze all to the ground."

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

Gesta Ste. i. pp. 81, 82.

The legate now heralded all whom he knew to be disposed towards Stephen. Almost all 'the earls' came 'full of youth and levity, preferring military enterprise to peace.' 'Great men, these, the king's privy counsellors, his familiars (*comites*), not endowed with vast domains, possessed merely of castles': foremost, Roger de Cheney and William his brother, accustomed to war, second to none in military skill and other virtues, well horsed, accompanied by archers. A posse of stipendiaries also, at the bishop's cost. And presently the queen and William d'Ypres and they who had rendezvoused in Kent.

G. Neubrig. 1-9.

Gesta Ste.

Matilda's party also rallied. Milo Earl of Hereford at her side, David King of Scots, Robert Earl of Gloster, Reginald de Dunstanville, Baldwin de Redvers, Roger Earl of Warwick, William de Mohun now Earl of Dorset, Boterel a Breton count, Bryan Fitz-Count, John the Mareschal, R. d'Oyley, R. de Nunant, W. Fitz-Alan and many barons, drew towards Winchester.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141.

The roads westward being blocked by the queen's allies and Andover burnt, provisions and reinforcements from the rebellious districts failed, while from the east supplies teemed for the royalists. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

As a mean to obviate these adversities, Gloster constructed a fort at Wherwell, some nine miles off north-west, and stationed therein 300 soldiers; but William d'Ypres, furiously assaulting, fired the convent of nuns in which they refuged and took all, half-burnt, prisoners. Gesta Ste. i. p. 82. Gesta Ste. i. p. 83.

The armies encamped outside the wall of Winchester, skirmishing daily. Valiant deeds gat praise, not as in the confusion of battle, but through personal achievements. A grateful sight to the ardent clerk it seems: but within the walls famine was pressing sore upon the people. Matilda besieging the bishop's castle—whence some think the conflagration arose—herself besieged in the royal hold. H. Hunt. A.S.Chron. Gesta Ste. W. Malm.

After seven weeks the Londoners—1,000 strong, well armed with helmets and breastplates—arriving, the Earl of Gloster looked on the crisis; and, advising his sister to depart secretly, marshalled his troops to protect her rear. Matilda then 'stole out' and, under guidance of Reginald her half brother, fled to Ludgershall 'in terror and dismay.' Presently her troops, having collected the light baggage, threw open the gates and in close order began retreat; Earl Robert, with a chosen few—200 cavalry,—falling in behind. J. Wig. H. Hunt. Gesta Ste. W. Malm. Sept. 14. A.S.Chron. J. Wig. W. Malm. Gesta Ste. W. Malm.

Instantly the bishop called to arms; and, from all sides, the king's forces poured in impetuously. Stephen's 'earls,' eager to efface the disaster at Lincoln, cut in between the rear guard and the main; and, amid rout and slaughter, Robert Earl of Gloster, some say disdaining to fly, yielded his sword. J. Wig. Gesta Ste. W. Malm. G. Neubrig. i. 9.

The royal army spread in pursuit or for spoil. High-

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141. Gesta Ste. i. p. 84.

mettled destriers that had cast their riders pranced wildly or stood panting. Shields, coats of mail, weapons, armour of all kinds, strewed the ground; rich robes, precious vessels, lay heaped or scattered; for baron and knight, throwing aside the ensigns of rank, disguising person and name, wended from the field in shame and fear. Some such, vailing to country folk, suffered torments: others, hiding, wasted through hunger. King David, thrice captured, thrice ransomed, slunk to Scotland, sorrowful. The primate and other bishops, 'with eminent men from all parts,' being separated from their retinues—their horses, their clothes seized, torn from them—lurked about; and Matilda herself, still in dread of the bishop, once more 'mounting her horse, male fashion, attended only by Bryan Fitz-Count and a few, urged on to Devizes,' whither her broken army had gathered.

G. Neubrig. i. 9.

J. Wig.

Gesta Ste. i. p. 85.

J. Wig.

The attack took place along the road to Sarum, the brunt of it at Stockbridge where, during the siege of Winchester, the queen lay; and the Flemings, under William de Warrenne, who had taken the Earl of Gloster, brought him to the presence there. And the queen consigned the noble prisoner to William d'Ypres, to be lodged in Rochester. Milo Earl of Hereford, on finding himself hemmed in, threw off his accoutrements and travelled alone, weary, half naked, to Gloster. But John the Mareschal, being pursued to Wherwell by the bishop's soldiers, could not be taken nor driven out, though they fired S. Cross, raped the vestments, books, ornaments of the nuns, pulled the religious about indecently, and shed blood upon the altar. Ranulf Earl of Chester came too late, and to no purpose.

W. Malm. Gesta Ste.

The Londoners, with many of the king's force who tarried, meantime ransacked Winchester; brake open

houses, stores, even some churches; and, having got much booty and many captives, returned home, triumphing. CHAP. VI. A.D. 1141.

After this, the legate-bishop, his wrath being somewhat abated, recovered from the ashes of the cross 500 lbs. of silver, thirty marks of gold and 'three crowns with as many steps' of the purest Arabian metal, studded all round with precious gems, exquisite in art and work. And these he laid by in his private treasury. J. Wig.

About this time—probably not aware of these events —Waleran Count de Meulan and his brother Robert (Bossu) Earl of Leicester made treaty with the Count of Anjou and delivered to him the castles of Montfort and Falaise. The duchy, stunned at its chief's imprisonment, cast about for a protector: the magnates each against other, the commonalty against the seigneurs; shortly, from Seine to Risle, all the nobles of Normandy did fealty to the pretender. And Geoffrey, having taken the Tower of Rouen, thenceforth styled himself Duke. R. Wend. O. Vital. xiii. 44. R. Nigri, Chron. II. p. 183.

In England after a short interval, during which it appeared that even civil war might be preferred to anarchy, men drew together, purposing to exchange the earl for the king; having yet hope to conserve a balance between the belligerents. The queen for her lord, Matilda for her brother, envoyed and mutually articled that the king should be restored to his royal dignity and that the earl, being liberated, should be invested with dominion over the whole of England: that, since each had theretofore furnished dissensions in the country, both together should become just administrators and restorers of peace. Generous, if candid, on Matilda's part; the earl spurned these terms: no doubt because they compromised his dignity and his sister's claims. Personally, 'neither dispirited by the chance of war, nor Gesta Ste. W. Malm. A.D. 1141. Hist. Nov. iii.

CHAP. VI.

A.D. 1141.

self-seeking in anywise,' whether invited or threatened, Gloster declined to treat of his own welfare without privity of his sister. We perceive in the accommodation stated how far Matilda's interests lay at risk. Authority so abnormal could not have been exerted in her behalf with reference due to responsibilities to the country.

A.S.Chron.

Finally, however, the king and the earl gat free on equal terms and without conditions; the affair at Stockbridge and the affair at Lincoln, with all mesne accidents, deaths, ruins, miseries, sacrileges, perjuries, disloyalties, notwithstanding.

Nov. 1.

The form of mutual release evidences habitual distrust. On All Saints' Day the king, loosed from chains, on giving his queen, his son Eustace and two nobles, as sureties in Bristol for liberation of the earl, hurried to Winchester; the earl, meantime under guard, arriving

Nov. 3.

from Rochester at the tryst. On the third day the earl departed for Bristol, leaving his son William in pledge till the queen and others should be redeemed. And, when the earl had reached Bristol and let go the queen and others and they had joined the king at Winchester, William the earl's son was restored.

Despite the cause which distracted the realm, despite her character for whom he warred, we admire the man who, in these days of fickleness and faithlessness, of extreme self-seeking, rejected all advances from the dominant power: who, in prison, 'undejected in countenance,' through conscious uprightness, bided his lot: who, when at large and experienced, forewent, in behalf

R. Glo. E. Chron. p. 431, *ed. Hearne.* Gir. Camb. It.

of his father's heir, the tranquillities of home and the indulgence of his state. A man, this bastard Robert, with the princely blood of ancient Britons in his veins, eminent among wiseand chivalrous Normans, in war,

in council; far more notably noble than any such: a fit knight, truly, to be commuted for a king.

A.D. 1141.

And as such royally esteemed. 'The queen, though she might have fettered him who had fettered her lord, would suffer no bond of any kind upon him. While she lay at Rochester he went freely whither he pleased, —even to the churches below the castle; conversed with whom he chose, none other present but the queen herself; after whose departure, being held in free custody in the keep, enjoying such licence that, on raising money from his Kentish vassals, he purchased horses serviceable thereafter.' W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

So tired had the nation become of Stephen and of Matilda—so weary of weakness where strength alone would have enabled peace: so persuaded of this man's honesty and vigour, that men hesitated not to desire him for king. J. Sarisb. Ep. ad Episcop. Wigorn.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1141. H. Hunt. Ann. Wav. fo. 79. W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii. Dec. 7.

'THE English people rejoiced on recovering their king.' The legate convened a synod at Westminster. It is told that he read a letter from the Pope gently rebuking; which, while forgiving all former transgressions in relation thereto, enjoined him to release his brother 'by any mode ecclesiastic or secular:' that he eloquently exonerated himself; laying all weight upon the accessories of war and the 'Countess of Anjou's' dereliction. Stephen, entering, complained that, though suffering from nine months' duress and the ignominy of chains, his subjects' ingratitude had more severely hurt him.

No writer present, the motion (so to say) before the reverend assembly must be surmised. It may have been that the king desired counsel or sympathy of the prelates: that the bishop, in the lustre of church pageantry, looked for a favourable means of redintegration. Yet Stephen's need was self-reliance, rather; the cost to him of episcopal goodwill beyond his count. And the legate, if content that his brethren 'held the tongue,' now, in confusion of face, heard the general opinion of his dealing. Varying for the nonce that recent formula "that it lay in the clergy specially to elect as well as ordain princes," he had risen to the occasion and, spiritual armoury in hand, 'on the part of God and the Pope,' called "to aid a king anointed by will of the people and consent of holy see;" sug-

gesting anathema on all disturbers of the country, 'the lady of the Angevins' alone except. At this moment a lay advocate, interrupting, forbade him, on Matilda's part, to 'ordain anything repugnant to her honour. He had pledged his faith to her: sworn not to assist his brother, save in utmost straights—then with twenty horsemen only.' Truly or not, yet effectively, she charged that 'through his frequent letters she had landed in England: under his connivance the king had been imprisoned.'

Meantime, Matilda, 'much shaken, almost worn to death by her ride from Winchester'—it is said that she passed on from Devizes to Gloucester shrouded and hearsed as a corpse,—arrived at Oxford. Hence, by messengers, she stirred up her partisans, by troops scoured the country and began to fortify Woodstock, Cirencester and two other places—probably Benson, nigh Wallingford, and Remenham Hill 'surrounded by marshes, inaccessible by reason of water,' close by Henley-on-Thames.

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 87. J. Wig.

Gesta Ste.

Save that each strengthened in prospect of warfare, from Christmas to Lent the belligerents tacitly truced. And 'the holy season of sorrow' giving farther respite —for some had scruple to war at that tide and, haply, by fasting, were unfit for it,—Matilda returned to Devizes, whence, under direction of a secret council, she despatched envoys to the court of Anjou. In the octave of Pentecost, these reported that Geoffrey, though inclining, hesitated; cautious, it would seem, he required personal converse with the Earl of Gloster.

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. iii.

A.D. 1142.

W. Malm.

All might perceive the hazard of the earl's voyage, of the dismemberment of his faction in the meanwhile. But the stagnant cause demanded stimulus; and Gloster, taking hostages from the chief adherents, sailed with

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1142. After Jan. 24.

some light troops from Wareham. At Caen Geoffrey declared his difficulties. Normandy still stood out against him: he dare not leave an enemy behind him. The earl, towards removing this objection, aided him to subdue Tinchebrai, Aunay, Cérences, Mortagne, Briquesart, Bastenbourg, Vilers and three other castles which I cannot identify. Yet the count-duke still found cause of delay. Finally, however, 'as a very singular favour, he entrusted his eldest son to the care of uncle and mother, that so the English people, beholding the legitimate heir and namesake of King Henry, might be encouraged to defend his rights.'

Cf. W. Malm. R. Wend.

W. Malm. J. Hagust. col. 271.

The king and queen had gone to York to quell some feud among the magnates and with a view to conserve loyalty in those parts. In the Easter holidays, Stephen, returning, fell ill at Northampton. Report spread of his decease. For his body and his mind had been racked and his ailment was acute. But, his vigour triumphing over sickness, 'like a man roused from sleep waking to life and new activity,' he, when he heard of those fortifyings and of the Earl of Gloster's mission to Anjou, summoned his adherents and a strong detachment of his standing army of aliens and marched on Wareham, at that time garrisoned by William the Earl of Gloster's son. Finding it slightly guarded, he burnt the town, seized the castle, and turned into Wiltshire. The period of this movement, lying between the king's recovery 'after Pentecost' and 'after S. John's day' when the earl had sailed, suggests a purpose to intercept Gloster or to prevent his subsequent landing at that port.

Gesta Ste.

W. Malm.

W. Malm.

The earl would have landed at Southampton 'to wreak vengeance on the inhabitants' had it not been for the *Vituli* in his fleet—mariners, French and

English, of either shore,—whose dearest friends were harboured there; and, in the worthier thought that it behoved him to land whence he had taken ship and to recover the place his son had lost, he steered for Poole. Port and town he quickly took and sat down before the castle: but royal troops, chosen and 'obstinate,' defended; and the siege tarried under the slow process of engineering. After a while the tired garrison claimed truce that they might apprise the king; and, according to military use, vouched to render up the fort should their lord not come to rescue. But the scene must shift to Oxford. CHAP. VII. A.D. 1142.

The city of Oxford lay most defensible; hardly to be approached by reason of the river on one side and a deep fosse on the other; guarded throughout by walls and a tower lofty, beautiful, strong in extreme. And in its impregnable castle Matilda lodged 'falsely secure,' straightly blocked. She had reduced the neighbourhood. She had erected forts: she had surrounded herself by a gallant body of men-at-arms; for so it had been determined to rest during the earl her brother's absence. But the king, on his return from Wareham, had fired Cirencester and taken Benson and, coming suddenly, had deployed on the banks of Isis: had crossed by the old ford, swimming rather than wading, Stephen foremost of all, amid jeers and arrows of the citizens: had ranked his columns within the gates which he entered pell-mell with the townsmen: had stormed the place utterly and driven all alive into the castle. Now, aware of the crisis, he pressed the siege, bitterly and more bitterly. By night and day his guards watched each avenue. Three weary months went by in loathsome sufferings, in irksome toil. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 88. W. Malm. Gesta Ste. Sept. 26.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1142-3.

It had been in a hope of withdrawing the king from Oxford that the earl truced with the garrison of Wareham. But Stephen had resolved that neither gain nor loss should raise him from that venue till Matilda should have given in. So Wareham yielded. And Gloster, having subdued the Isle of Portland and Lullworth by the way, marched his little host to Cirencester. Here, rallying his adherents, he planned to relieve Matilda by attacking Stephen in rear. And, rumour magnifying his army, the royal troops had already relaxed vigilance; some had consulted their own safety.

Nov.

Dec. A.S.Chron. H. Hunt. Gesta Ste. W. Malm. R. de Monte, col. 548. G Neubrig. i. 10.

Isis was frozen hard. Deep snow covered the earth. One night Matilda, wrapped in a white cloke—either let down by ropes or issuing through a secret postern,—made away. Three, at most four, men-at-arms with her threading post and piquet,—noticed by one man only, whom she bribed,—wended afoot six miles to Abingdon; thence on by horse to Wallingford ere dawn.

A.D. 1143. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 91.

The Earl of Gloster halted. The Oxford garrison capitulated; and the king, in vexation of spirit, shortly after Christmas again assaulted Wareham. But meantime that castle had been greatly strengthened; and he turned on Wilton, ravaging the country by the way.

A.S.Chron.

The strategic position of this place, which connected the holds of Winchester, Sarum, Sherborne and, by reason of the great plain and the forest land, checked Wareham and Devizes, was manifest. Here Alfred defeated and had been defeated: here, as the citadel of the county, a tower stood. Here, also, Saxon piety had dedicated to the Virgin Mother S. Mary and to the virgin queen S. Æthelrida: here had ministered Abbess Christina, sister of the Ætheling Eadgar and Eadgyth,

Flo. Wig. (871.)

CHAP. VII.

the 'good queen Molde' and Mary, King Stephen's wife's mother. And Stephen designed to fortify Wilton.

A.D. 1143.

In a council at London, the king present, the legate uttered 'most rigorous censures' against all who should lay hand on clergy, touch ecclesiastical things or pollute cemeteries: farther, it passed that husbandmen and ploughs in the field should be held as sacred as churchmen and churchyards; and that such as violated the same should be absolved only in the pope's presence and by the pope.

Lent. Ann. Wav. G. Neubrig. i. 10. R. Hoved. R. Wend.

The legate-bishop with a strong body of mercenaries and the barons with their feudaries had joined the king by the way from Wareham or were now close to Wilton. The royal standard had been raised, the troops were at masonry and trenching: suddenly the Earl of Gloster came in view. He, too, had rallied his abettors and a multitude of soldiers. The king, finding his sallies ineffective, anon drew out his army in order of battle; and the earl forming, —each in three divisions,—late in the day they joined issue.

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 92. July 1. H. Hunt. G. Neubrig. i. 10. R. Hoved.

The action is undescribed. This much only is told. It was dark when the king and the bishop, forced to retreat and that retreat cut off, fled. W. Martel, after strenuous resistance, gave up his sword to Bryan Fitz-Count; and, contest at end, rout followed.

Ann. Wav. Ante, p. 310. R. de Monte, col. 458.

The royalists refuged in the houses and in the churches of the town; and the earl, pushing his victory, gave up Wilton to sack and slaughter, desecration and flame. Nor citizens, nor soldiers, nor the religious, were spared, neither hovel nor sanctuary. They burst open the convent gates; they bound with thongs and dragged forth the asylumed. Naked swords flourished

Gesta Ste.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1143.

over the altar and tears and blood flowed on the holy ground. 'In all the stormings, in all the raids of this violent time, no such carnage, no such wanton atrocities, had happened.'

Ib. H. Hunt. R. de Monte, col. 458.

The earl, taking Martel with many prisoners and splendid trophies (the king's plate and utensils), triumphed to Bristol. Martel, being in durance, redeemed himself by yielding Sherborne—the key of the realm—and the lordship of it. And Matilda's adherents waxed very cheerful; for they had mated the king in a pitched battle. Near and far they reduced the royal castles and proudly strengthened their own, so that one half of England from sea to sea obeyed them in love or through fear. And they aggrandised themselves, compelling accord; 'except that they pressed the people to build their castles and enlisted them on their side.' 'Then drew over the land a shadow of peace, but no substance followed: for men grieved to toil for others and to wield their weapons in the cause of common ruin.'

Ante, p. 280.

The king and the bishop had left their army on the field; had fled ignominiously; and the humbled royalists lost hope. Only undaunted Henry de Tracey, in the very midst of the enemy's quarters, held up the cause; trucing at last, in loyal terms, 'till the king should become more powerful and be able in person to restrain the country.'

Granted that seven years of civil war should demoralise a people, the inconsistency of Englishmen at this epoch is remarkable. Previous to the battle of Lincoln, the feeling of the country had indulged itself in Stephen's favour. Excepting on a broad arc drawn westward from Dorset to Chester, the insurrection had been localised in the domains of certain barons. Cap-

ture of the king had promoted intense and wide indignation and his release had been hailed with enthusiasm. Yet, while Stephen lay in prison, the nation's heart opened to Matilda whose condition during the Earl of Gloster's absence had become forlorn enough. Almost the whole country had recognised her; not a knight advanced to succour her. The fact is that England at this time needed a king of sterner stuff than Stephen, the *preux chevalier*: needed somewhat more real than the virago, Matilda. Men thought not to dethrone Stephen but they dared him because he seemed unable to restrain them. They stood for Matilda in some vague idea that her cause might be just, though no one would crown her. The loyalty of the Saxon, at least, had been overstrained; and, as yet, he had no political sagacity. And it would seem as if the balance, of power as of right, stood so equal now that any slight vantage might shift public opinion. Nor Stephen nor Matilda was sufficient for the sceptre: neither acceptable at all. But again, neither army could hold the field, neither potentate could compel order. England, like a vane, veered as the wind blew. The fact, —irrespective of Stephen's character (if we can separate that from the situation) and of Matilda's most opposite qualities (neutralised, one would think, by Gloster's abilities and moral worth),—appears in some degree referable to features of the feudal economy, the nature of baronial service, the temper of the auxiliaries, not less than to the disintegration of the people. e.g. The Earl of Gloster and each of his noble adherents could raise only such vassals as held from him or them by knight service. The king's prerogative ranged over the whole realm but in like manner. The king, however, could not rapidly move his levies from all parts

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1143.

and concentrate them; and, in effect, when the war raged in the western counties, the Earl of Gloster's feudaries might have outnumbered the king's. Beside the Flemings, faithful to Stephen, and the Angevins and the Welsh horde, in Matilda's interest, large bodies of mercenaries, native and alien, trooped on either side. Hired temporarily, disbanded after action to be re-engaged to the highest bidder, these formed, perhaps, the host and fulcrum of many battles. And the practice of ransoming captives, while it operated with iron armour to spare the lives of magnates, deranged discipline. Myrmidons environed the hero, not to slay but to sell him. Add the treachery of the nobles and the self-seeking of the clergy and we may account approximately for the duration of this struggle. The land was exhausted and men's spirits. When the king, with all his posse, besieged Matilda in Oxford, his force numbered but 1,000; and Gloster, on the point of proceeding to the rescue, had scarce 300 soldiers.

Gesta Ste. ii. pp. 96, sq.

The misery of the country now came to height. We hear nothing of the king or of the earl, of the legate or of the queen and her boy (who for some four years lay in Bristol under tutelage), nothing of troops, sieges, and the waging of war. Above the din of battle sounds the groan of a people exceedingly afflicted; and, instead of the fever of intestine strife, there is the panting of famine. Poverished, bereaved, folk, huddling under the eaves of churches, if so be they might shelter there, ate dogs and horses, raw herbs and roots, yet died. Populous cities failed. Streets became desert. Country, home, life, lost all charm. Entire families sadly made exodus. The fields grew white to harvest, but there were none to bear the sickle or to bind the sheaf or to glean. And the fierce

stranger who had served the king or the earl meddled among the natives and mocked them. Insatiate, unpaid, lawlessly banding, these robbed monasteries and municipalities. If monk or priest complained, they stripped and beat him. If one called on his bishop to denounce, lo! 'the column on which the house of God was built,—the lion which supported the laver in the temple,'—either sentenced mildly or (as 'report stigmatised' him of Winchester, him of Lincoln, him of Chester), harnessed. In bright array, girt with the sword and mounted on mettlesome war-horse, the prelate might be found ravaging beside the ravagers, sharing the booty—yet boldly denying the deed.

Robert Bishop of Hereford, a man of resolved mind as of piety, alone stood in the breach. Milo, the earl, would have levied a tax upon the churches; and the prelate, asserting that ecclesiastical property once devoted to the altar belonged in perpetual frank-alms to God and His service and that the same might not be touched by laymen (since laymen could not minister in holy rites), threatened excommunication. And Milo daring, he passed sentence thoroughly on him and his. No office might be performed; no corpse be sped in earth or water or fire, nor removed from the place of death until all, to the uttermost farthing, as valued by sworn men, should have been restored; till the profane one should have done penance and reconciled himself.

And the terrible denunciation worked. And to man's mind the curse fell on all those who had violated the shrines at Wilton. Milo Fitz-Walter Earl of Hereford, unassoiled, was slain by an arrow: a son of the Earl of Gloster, 'the glory and delight of his family,' deceased within the year: William the '*præceptor*,' a responsible man of Sarum, perished under the slow

Dec. 24. Gesta Ste. ii. pp. 100, sq. J. Hagust.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1143-4.

tortures of an incurable disease: Robert Fitz-Hildebrand, 'an eminent mischief maker,' came to end like Herod.

Nov. 11. Ann. Wav.

Pope Innocent having died, the legate held council by night, at London, and thereat bade Nigel, ex-Bishop of Ely, and Roger de Clinton, Bishop of Chester, proceed to Rome; he himself soon following. Subsequently, Alexander Bishop of Lincoln and William Metropolitan of Canterbury took the same road: for there had been jealousy between the primate and the legate; the latter domineering. Whether at this time the advance of Winchester to an archiepiscopate gat mooted, with the abbey of Hide as a new see and Chichester with five others as suffragans, is not clear, or whether Henry de Blois now reached at the apostolic chair. But Celestine died and Lucius died; and the projects, whatever, fell still-born.

R. de Monte, col. 461. H. Hunt. Ann. Wint. R. Wend.

A.D. 1143-4. R. Hoved. Selden, Tit. hon. edit. iii. p. 536. G. Neubrig. i. 11. ed. iii.

The revolt had become epidemic and spread. Geoffrey de Mandeville, a chief magnate, whose hereditary domains lay far and wide in ten counties, lord of the castles of Waldene and Plashy, constable of the Tower of London, whom Stephen had just now created by charter Earl of Essex, intrigued; Matilda offering for his alliance confirmation of all lands, forts, castles, theretofore enjoyed by his father and grandfather, particularly of the Tower of London, with farther grant of hereditary shrievalty of London and Middlesex and of Herts, with sole power to try causes in those counties, seizin of Eudo *Dapifer's* lands in Normandy and the office of royal steward, confirmation of his earldom to him and his heirs, with the third penny of the pleas of his shrievalties as an earl should enjoy them.

Monast. Angl. iv. 133 sq.

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 101.

'He was more thought of than the king himself: royal commands were less obeyed than his.' And the

CHAP. VII.

earls, Stephen's familiars, being envious, persuaded his arrest and seizure of his holds for security of the realm. The court lay at S. Alban's: the king, hesitating in this matter, interposed to soothe some bickering among the nobles. Whether or not, as later writers say, a brawl ensued, in which the Earl of Arundel and his horse were thrust into the water, certain it is that, some boldly charging Geoffrey with conspiracy and he ridiculing rather than denying, Stephen and the barons present laid hands on the traitor, brought him in custody to London and, under threat of the gibbet, gat from him surrender of the Tower and of the castles he had so laboriously erected, Waldene and Plashy. 'A man of great fixity of purpose, hardy in ungodliness, turbulent and now fierce withal, Geoffrey assembled all his feudaries in one body, levied a host of mercenaries and took up arms against the king.' It is needless to recapitulate the drivings of flocks, the burnings of homesteads, the none-sparing cruelties, thenceforward practised in parts previously tranquil. Geoffrey took the king's town, Cambridge, by surprise, hewed down the church doors, pilled, burnt. So, elsewhere, throughout, devastating the monks' lands and their herds. Having stripped the Benedictine Abbey, Ramsey, he drave out the brethren and set a garrison therein.

A.D. 1143–4.

H. Hunt. Gesta Ste. ii. pp. 102–4.

A.D. 1144.

The king, in power, advanced upon him, but Geoffrey scaped open encounter ever, took to the marshes, wended and brake forth afresh in some other quarter. Stephen built forts to check him here and there: but anon Geoffrey wheeled and razed, or himself occupied, those forts. Then he confederated with the Earl of the East Angles—that Hugh Bigod who had made oath touching the succession—and they two doubly harried the land.

Ante, p. 232.

CHAP. VII.

Stephen de Mandeville also—some kinsman belike,—whom Matilda had set in Devon, 'exalted that earldom,' repaired 'those old castles which the necessities of a former age had planted on the summits' and domineered to injury of the lieges.

A.D. 1141. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 106.

Robert Marmyon, Lord of Tamworth here and Sieur of Fontney in Normandy, a good soldier, one ousted lately by Geoffrey of Anjou and violent in enmity with the Earl of Chester, thrust out the monks of Coventry, embattled the cloister and entrenched.

R. Hoved. G. Neubrig. i. 12.

Earl Ranulph himself, having made good his grasp from Carlisle to Lincoln, worked against the northern barons by craft, by force; surprising some in their castles, wasting others' lands. Stephen built a tower over against Lincoln castle; but, eighty of his sappers being smothered in the trenches, he withdrew.

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 105. H. Hunt. R. Wend. A.D. 1144.

John Fitz-Gilbert, that 'child of hell,' the freebooting castellan of Marlborough, extended fort on fort, seized church lands, gathered the monks in mock synod and, as with episcopal authority, decreed taxes and labour.

Ante, p. 294. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 105.

Philip, the Earl of Gloster's second son, also kept the south country astir; by building, by demolishing, by pressing, by massacres, acquiring an estate, promulgating ordinances from one sea to the other.

Then William de Dover took Cricklade and, with instant diligence, reared a castle as it were upon the waters; and, hiring archers and renegades, ravaged the upper valley of Thames. Now would he sweep round some loyal place, now lurk by night, ever raid and reeve. Oxford on one side, Malmesbury on the other, quailed at his coming.

Ib. p. 106.

The Earl of Gloster had built three forts to block Malmesbury and the royal garrison stood in straights. Stephen, with feudaries and musters by the way, ap-

Ib. p. 107.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1144.

proached. He threw in munitions; and, having wasted the earl's lands thereabout, encamped near Tetbury. After storming the outer defences and driving the Tetbury guard within the inner court, he brought up his engines. But the earl, having levied footmen and bands of Welsh and recruited from Bristol and other holds, drew nigh. Roger, Milo's son, now Earl of Hereford, and many barons of those parts, advanced; halting for reinforcement within two miles.

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 108.

The barons with the king, cowed by this overwhelming multitude, prevailed to avoid battle. So small a body of men-at-arms must needs be impounded and butchered. Those were fresh and vigorous: they, at a distance from resources, were worn out by long marches and sufferings by the way. Stephen, therefore, raised the siege of Tetbury and marched on Winchcomb. Earl Roger had strengthened the place with a high wall on the top of the steep; but the greater part of the garrison, on bruit of the king's coming, had fled and, under an impetuous assault, the remainder threw down their arms.

After thus encouraging his adherents in those parts—and the number of them and of their castles was yet considerable—Stephen marched against Hugh Bigod; and, surprising him, slew, captured or dispersed, his followers: surrounded Robert Marmyon at Coventry, who, on riding out of the monastery, fell into the pit which he had digged for his enemies, breaking his thigh thereby: a certain cobbler thrust a knife into his belly: a common soldier cut off his head; and he died, in his sin, upon the holy ground he had defiled. Likewise, at Ramsey, Geoffrey de Mandeville, being in the midst of his troops in the very precincts of the abbey, as it were singled out for divine vengeance by the hand

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 109. H. Hunt. R. Hoved. Ann. Wav. August. G. Neubrig. i. 12. R. de Monte, col. 459.

CHAP. VII.

A.D. 1144.

of a mean archer—('making light of his wound as of his soul's disease'),—died excommunicate. But the Templars buried him thereafter.

H. Hunt. R. Hoved.

Men had said 'God is asleep'; but now He aroused. This same year, Arnulf, Earl Geoffrey's son, retaining the church as a castle, fell into the king's hand and was banished. The leader of his men-at-arms, being thrown from his horse at the door of the hospice, gat brained. Reinier, also, the commander of his foot soldiers, with his wife and the money he had stolen, perished at sea. At this point, however, monkish idiosyncrasies transcend the level of history. But what they tell may indicate the degree of excitement to which the imagination of religious men had raised itself under sense of the profanities now rife and of the retribution looked for thereon. This Reinier being on board, the ship stayed her course. And, as in Jonah's case, the sailors cast lots. The lot fell on the sacrilegious man. They cast again and yet again and the lot fell as before. So they put the sinner, with wife and chattels, into a boat, and lo! a whirpool sucked all up while the ship sailed freely to its haven. Also, at fortified Ramsey, when boisterous laymen caroused and cursed in the cells, blood gushed out from the walls of the church and from the walls of the cloisters as token of wrath and prognostic of doom. 'This was seen of

H. Hunt.

many, and I observed it with my own eyes,' says the venerable archdeacon within whose district it occurred —a man, veracious, if not always accurate, at this date, some sixty-five years of age. 'This was seen of many; and in fact I myself beheld it with my own eyes,' says Roger of Hoveden, then a youth. It matters little that

Ann. Wav. A.S.Chron.

the second may have copied from the first. The *consensus* of belief is all. Famine was sore in the land.

CHAP. VII.

And at this time occurs, I think, the first record of the boy William crucified by the Jews of Norwich.

A.D. 1144. Gesta Ste. ii. pp. 110–112.

One Turgis of Orleans, low born and of no note other than that the king had made him of his privy council, trusted him, enriched him, now lifted up the heel. The king had given him custody of Waldene and its territories; but, when the king would enter the hold which Mandeville had made so strong for himself, Turgis impudently shut the gate. On a day, 'this absurd courtier' and turgid rebel, taking pastime in the chase—he winding his horn gleefully, his dogs 'some running on scent, others by sight,'—came to naught; for the king, at head of a troop of horse, environed him, bound him in thongs and, halting him in presence of the gallows, received his keys.

Ib.

W. de Dover ceased not from raids. Having by stratagem taken Walter de Pinkney, Castellan of Malmesbury, he delivered him to Matilda—then at Wallingford, I apprehend. 'Of all others, Matilda hated this Walter'; yet 'by blandishments, by threats, she essayed to coax or wrench him from allegiance.' In vain. Walter said if he should be recreant yet would his garrison be true. And the king forthwith farther munitioning Malmesbury, Matilda cast her captive, heavily chained, into a loathsome dungeon. William de Dover, repenting himself, went on crusade and died happily; but Philip, the Earl of Gloster's son, 'a quarrelsome man, desperate, malignant,' having now custody of Cricklade, exceeded all; widening the range of his tyranny; wherever he went doing despite to the Church. Yet as Walter at Malmesbury had been a check to his predecessor, so Oxford and its castellan W. de Chamai became to him. Wherefore he prevailed on his father to construct fortress on fortress round about,

CHAP. VII.

especially one at Faringdon (Berks), and thus dominate that region.

A.D. 1144–5. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 113. H. Hunt. G. Neubrig. i. 13. R. de Monte, col. 461.

So they built a strong castle with walls and outworks munitioned of the best. And when the king heard of these doings he put aside all else; and, heading a formidable body of Londoners, marched straight to Oxford, halted for reinforcements and then, in power, pitched over against Faringdon. More cautious than of yore, he now entrenched: conscious of the crisis, he constructed *ballistae* of enormous ability and began the attack in form and with vigour. Archers skilfully galled those on the walls: stones, whatever else could be thrown, crushed those within; and the ranks of the garrison visibly became thin. Active youths climbed the ramparts and, hand to hand, battled across the palisades. Day by day the engines and the assaults wearied the besieged and encouraged the besiegers.

G. Neubrig. and Gervase C. A.D. 1145.

Meantime the Earl of Gloster, at a short distance, awaiting allies, dared not attempt relief. Then,—we know not after how long, nay, the month and the year are uncertain,—'some of the chief men, unawares of the rest, offered to capitulate.'

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 114.

The crisis had passed. Stephen, now by a decisive action master, had, 'under God, reached the crown of his fortune, the height of his glory.' From the stores delivered into his hand he could arm and feed his host; from the ransom of his captives he could reward his comrades. Consternation, moreover, spread among the insurgents. Matilda's cause waned. Even Gloster's alacrity was crippled. Thenceforward 'men took up arms against the king with reluctance' or 'made terms' —all too easily, it would seem—with the generous conqueror.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAP. VIII.

SINCE the battle of Lincoln, Ranulf Earl of Chester had stood aloof from the general war. Now he came humbly to Stamford, beseeching peace with the king; confessing his breach of 'faith, deploring his cruelty.' Stephen forgave him all. Then they two took mutual oaths and pledged troth that neither would betray other. And Ranulf served with a gallant body of 300 knights and men-at-arms; and together they stormed Milo de Beauchamp in Bedford and then, in power, laid siege to Wallingford where, if she had not gone to Bristol, Matilda yet lay. They built a castle within sight to restrain its resources and its malignity. But for a while there are no farther records of action thereupon.

A.D. 1146. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 115. A.S.Chron. H. Hunt. A.S.Chron. Gesta Ste.

Somewhat, however, took place here to create suspicion against Earl Ranulf. The great men perceived that he had not given up either the royal castles or the other forts and territories which he had seized to his own use: that he neglected to discharge the royal taxes; and, to this day, had neither plighted nor given hostages for his conduct. Truly, while the country had been agitated and process of law lay in abeyance, Ranulf, by fraud and violence, had possessed himself of one-third of the realm. Neither king nor magnate relied on him; but, in regard to surroundings, they watched for evidence of his designs.

Philip, Earl Robert's son, also, seeing the king in

Ib. p. 116.

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 1146.

the ascendant, made a solemn treaty of concord with Stephen; homaged, gave hostages; and, receiving large grants of land, castles, authorities, gave none cause to doubt his zeal. As he had done by his king, so now he did by his father, turning the feof of Gloster into a desert: 'a man everywhere abhorred for his atrocious bearing.' One Robert Musard, e.g., chancing in his way, Philip twisted his horse's bridle round that noble's neck; who, through fear of strangulation, ceded his castle. Reginald de Dunstanville, Matilda's Earl of Cornwall—possibly her envoy at the time—the late king's son, his own uncle, passing under safe conduct with countess and large retinue to make peace, Philip ambushed for and caught.

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 117.

Some effort at compromise now opened. The king by his adherents met Matilda by hers. But, since the demands of each were arrogant, it closed. For the one contended that the king, having usurped, should abdicate and the other persisted 'he should not be a fallen king.'

So the raiding and the slaughter recurred. Henry and Ralf Caldoet, brothers expert in war, excommunicates, brake out in Gloucestershire. The one gat hanged in front of his own castle, the other fled. But those who divided their substance tyrannised as they had tyrannised; and the iron entered into the people's soul. Walter, the Earl of Hereford's brother, seized his kinsman and ally Roger Harding; stripped him bare, mocked him, bound him and, putting a cord round his neck, dangled him thrice before his own gate at Berkeley; the third time letting him fall upon the ground. And, since Roger would not yet resign his castle, Walter carried him, scarcely alive, to a dungeon. Philip of Gloster fiercely retaliated; but, sud-

Ib. pp. 118, 119.

Cf. R. Glo. Engl. Chron. fo. 135 b.

denly sickening—his cruel spirit having wasted him,— paused in his career and put on the sign of the cross. For S. Bernard of Clairvaux was preaching; and the pious and the wicked together were wending to Salem, though fraud and rapine, 'the sword and the adversary' ceased not in England.

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 1146. R. de Monte, col. 461. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 120.

And now Ranulf betrayed himself. Coming with a small retinue to court at Northampton, he complained that the Welsh continued such inroads on his earldom that, unless the king personally succoured, Chester would be overwhelmed. He offered to pay the royal troops, to provide for their subsistence, to furnish all necessaries. To this Stephen acceded. But the council, perceiving inexpedience, paused. Some memory of the Conqueror's, of Rufus', of Henry's, failure in that quarter may have occurred. The king's presence was required in England, however. It were not safe for him to lead an army through the mountain passes and thickets of Wales, to risk ambuscades among the wild folk, haply to lack water and food. It were rash to venture within the earl's territories who had so long while and so privily warred and machinated against him; who, though he affected loyalty, had given no pledges of good faith. They suggested, then, that, if Earl Ranulf craved aid of the king as his suzerain, he should first restore all that he had unjustly gotten; and, in renewing his fealty, confirm the same by hostages: that, if he would not do this on demand, he should be treated as an open enemy. And Stephen reluctantly assenting, they, in a body, told the king's terms to the earl, who replied that he had not come to court on this matter: it had not been notified to him before: he had not means to consult his friends. Thereupon words bandied, charges of treason; and, as Ra-

H. Hunt. Gesta Ste. ii. pp. 121, sq.

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 1146.

nulf reddened, now denying stoutly, now paltering, the council laid hands on him and the guards bound and led him to prison.

Shortly the barons of the palatinate and others holding of Earl Ranulf called up their feudaries. Some would defy the king and levy war: others, in absence of their chief, prevailed: "Let us liberate our earl in the present and follow his fortune afterwards." Certain of these, then, coming to Stephen, offered to redeem their lord by surrender of all castles which the king claimed as of royal right and to give due pledges. And the king in council accorded for the commonweal, 'That all rights of the nature of royalties being resigned, Ranulf, retaining only the honours of his earldom, on giving hostages and solemnly swearing never again to oppose the king, should be set free.' Nevertheless, when liberated, Ranulf indignantly brake his oath and forfeited his hostages; and, mustering 'bands of vulgar ruffians' in rank with his feudaries, spread over the land; 'vieing with the truculence of a Herod and a Nero.' 'Censured by the Church, he moderated no whit.' Now attacking the king's forts, now building forts for himself. One while attempting Lincoln (which he had ceded to obtain his freedom), at another Coventry. Here, in ambush, capturing the king's troops, there, in skirmish, slaying, putting to flight. To-day his arms wound Stephen, to-morrow himself will hardly escape with life.

Gesta Ste. ii. pp. 125, sq.

Now Gilbert (de Clare) Earl of Herts, hostage for Ranulf his uncle, lay in custody; but, getting free on tender of all his castles, joined the insurrection. "It is monstrous," said Stephen, "that he, whom from a penniless knight I made an opulent earl and to whom I have granted all his heart's desires, should join my

adversaries. Where is faith? where shame? Let us rise and speedily punish." So, when Gilbert reached his nearest castle, the king's troops stood on the other side. And the king stormed that fort (unnamed) and took it; and in the confusion Earl Gilbert concealed his face, disguised his person and, with a few, evaded. Two other castles belonging to De Clare fell in like haste and the king sate down before a fourth.' Pevensey stood on a mound enclosed within a wall; the tide filling its ditch. And Stephen, leaving the labour of siege to 'faithful regulars' and blockade on the seaboard to the ships, departed for Lincoln. CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1146-7.

Here, at Christmas, King Stephen held court and ware his crown. During five years no like celebration had happened: nor, in Lincoln, by reason of some superstition, had any previous king sate crowned. Immediately on his retirement, the Earl of Chester again assaulted the castle: but, his chief commander being slain at entrance of the north gate and many followers perishing, he retreated. A.D. 1146-7. H. Hunt.

And now Matilda with her son—long inactive yet in constant jeopardy—crossed over sea and asylumed in Bec. And Duke Geoffrey entered Normandy in power, ravaging, fortifying; and in effect he drave Prince Eustace home. A.D. 1147. R. Wend. R. Hoved. Gervase C. A.D. 1145.

Albeit many nobles had gone forth on crusade, this country wasted itself in blood and wounds; the realm, as it were, divided in two parts: the partisans of Stephen and of Matilda alternately triumphing; neither at any time subduing. The building of castles ceased not; and, as a later annalist avers, 'there would seem to have been as many kings—rather tyrants—as castles; each lord using his own mint, uttering base coin.' G. Neubrig. i. 22. Triveti Ann.

Now died of fever Robert Earl of Gloster, bastard Oct. 31.

CHAP. VIII.

son of Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tydr last king of all South Wales, by King Henry; and he was buried within S. James' Bristol which he had founded. Alexander Bishop of Lincoln also died, having received in the Roman court the title of 'Magnificent' and his mortal sickness.

A.D. 1147–9. H. Hunt. R. Wend.

A.D. 1149. H. Hunt. J. Hagust. A.D. 1150. Aug. Cogeshale in R. Nigri Chron. II. pp. 107–8.

Prince Henry, under his mother's advice, now passed to Scotland; and in Carlisle, during Pentecost, he being about sixteen years of age, received the accolade from his great-uncle King David. Under auspices of the primate-legate, if not of the Pope, a plan of operations gat mooted. Many nobles from the West of England joined Henry, whose lands Eustace (recently knighted by his father) havocked. And Henry sware to David never to dispute the Scots' rights to those territories which the Scots had seized. The Earl of Chester also was ingratiated on this occasion. Carlisle and Cumberland had been granted by the first William to Ranulf de Meschines (Briquesart) Viscount of Bayeux; but, on decease without issue of Richard d'Abrincis Earl of Chester, King Henry, resuming the lordship of Carlisle and Cumberland, had granted the earldom of Chester to the same Ranulf, as nearest kin male; with this farther arrangement, mentioned above, that the hereditaments in Lincolnshire whereof Lucia, wife of Ranulf (Briquesart), was seized should return to the crown. Now Ranulf (Gernons) the present earl was son of Ranulf (Briquesart) by Lucia; and we have witnessed his pretensions and encroachments on Carlisle and Cumberland as on Lincoln and Lincolnshire. But, with a view to soothe his ambition and to enlist his forces, marriage was now proposed between his son Hugh (Keveliok) and a

G. Neubrig. i. 22, ii. 4. R. Hoved.

A.D. 1120.

Ante, p. 297.

CHAP. VIII.

daughter of Prince Henry of Scotland. No such union happened, yet Ranulf (Gernons) Earl of Chester stood with the insurgents—and once more treated with King Stephen. Stephen himself expecting an attack on York moved his army thither and cantoned. But the kings cared not to draw to battle and Henry returned to Anjou. Stephen then, nearing his son, ravaged Worcester yet failed to redeem the castle which Waleran had made so strong,—which the enemy had gotten in manner and at a time untold.

A.D. 1149–50. H. Hunt.

Louis (VII.) of France had returned from crusade. And Geoffrey of Anjou had ceded Normandy (which he had not yet won) to his son Henry. So there arose discord between suzerain and count. And the king with his brother-in-law Eustace, King Stephen's son, besieged Pont de l'Arche. And the forces of Anjou, Bretagne and Normandy, under Geoffrey and his son, approached. But, in prospect of bloodshed, he who had trumpeted Europe against Asia, Bernard of Clairvaux, arranged peace between them and the suzerain accepted Prince Henry's homage. And Geoffrey deceasing almost immediately, Henry, Matilda's son, assumed the title of Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou.

Ann. Wav. R. Wend. A.D. 1150. R. de Monte. Sept. 13.

But in the meantime, at a privy council in London, certain earls and barons did fealty to Eustace as his father's heir. Whether it were proposed to hold a general council to the same end, does not appear. But the synod which followed in the presence was 'agitated by appellants by reason of practices introduced by the late legate.' And it would seem that Archbishop Theobald, who had gone secretly to Rheims, had, in the changes of the pontificate, achieved the legatine

March 1. P. & C. E. 11. Lent. H. Hunt. Ann. Wav. A.D. 1148.

CHAP. VIII.

authority for himself. In the next year the Bishop of Winchester had need purge himself at the apostolic chair.

A.D. 1150–2.

Ann. Wint. Gervase C. H. Hunt.

The king turned again in arms against Worcester; yearning to regain the royal fortress which commanded a city faithful to him always. He therefore constructed two forts and brought up his siege material: 'but it was the king's habit to undertake with zeal and to prosecute indolently.' It will be remembered that with custody of this castle Stephen had granted earldom of Worcester to the Count of Meulan his tried adherent, who, during the king's imprisonment, had made peace with Geoffrey of Anjou. And, in Waleran's abiding beyond sea, his brother Robert Earl of Leicester, hitherto passively loyal (though he too had reconciled with Geoffrey), supervised Worcester in some sort. But William now Earl of Gloster had married the Hunchback's daughter; and Bossu changed sides and, 'by combined craft and force,' demolished these forts and compelled raising of the siege.

Ante, p. 268.

A.D. 1150–1.

Ann. Wint. Ann. Wav.

A hard winter followed. Three months of intense cold so afflicted men's bones that none could labour in springtime. And the land lay nigh barren and the little corn perished in the blade by reason of summer rains. Theobald (IV.) Count of Blois, Stephen's brother, and Matilda, Stephen's queen, deceased.

March 31.

A.D. 1152. Lent. P. & C. E. 11.

R. de Monte, col. 468.

Again the earls and barons of England assembled at London, homaged and sware fealty to Eustace the Ætheling: but, at the general council of prelates and *proceres* which followed, Archbishop Theobald, with the bishops' support, refused to crown the king's son. Whereupon Stephen, incensed, shut up the prelates and sequestered their baronies; and the primate, escaping

to Normandy, thenceforth heartily embraced Duke Henry's cause. CHAP. VIII.

Now the hierarchy, distracted by Henry de Blois, injured through the realm's turmoils and haled about by the shifting policy of holy see, had withdrawn from King Stephen; in effect, defied him. Theobald, exiled for contumacy, presently landed at Framlingham and, under protection of Hugh Bigod, laid interdict on all royal demesnes: the king reconciled himself according to ecclesiastical use but the indignity might not be forgiven on either part. Farther division happened. The Roman camera is not always consistent. Pope Eugenius declared against Stephen—Stephen would not grant free passage to the Pope's legate journeying to Ireland. A.D. 1152. J. Hagust, R. de Monte.

At the same time, at Beaugency, sentence of divorce, on ground of consanguinity, passed between King Louis and Eleanor of Guienne and, with indecent haste, Henry Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, married the hieress of Poitou and Aquitaine. March 18. G. Neubrig. i. 31. May 18. R. de Monte, col. 470.

The character of this marriage needs short comment. Henry being at this date nineteen years of age, Eleanor having been married fifteen years and borne two daughters. The territory of seaboard from Rochelle to within sight of the Pyrénées, stretching inland one-third through the realm of France, possessed charms worthy of a king's espousal, irrespective of the woman who might adorn or disgrace the coronet. The young Count Theobald of Blois had beset her. Young Geoffrey of Anjou had attempted abduction of her. It obtained in later time that Eleanor offered herself to Henry. Chron. Turon. Gervase C.

King Louis, foreseeing political complexities, hastened to arms if yet he might keep Norman and Gascon R. Wend.

CHAP. VIII.

duchies asunder. And, summoning Prince Eustace, Rotrou Count of Perche, Henry Count of Champagne and others, stormed Neufmarché.

A.D. 1152–3.

June 24. R. de Monte.

Duke Henry had by this time reached Barbefleur en route for England; now, wheeling, he pitched on Andelle, ravaged the Vexin, burnt Bouzeville, Cintri, Serquigny, La Ferté, Bréval, Voéuille and Bonneville; and, leaving a force on guard, returned to Anjou where Geoffrey, his brother, in disappointment, had raised revolt. Taking Mount Sorel and its garrison he compelled peace: but Louis, in the interim, had entered Normandy and burnt part of Bourg royal and the ville attached to Verneuil.

Aug. 1. G. Neubrig.

H. Hunt. Chron. Melsa. xxix.

Some time in this year King Stephen reduced the castle of Newbury (in Berks) and beleaguered Wallingford. At this latter place he built a fort on the bridge that he might cut off all access. And the garrison, under pressure, cried for aid to Henry who, having made peace with Louis, now descended on England.

A.D. 1152–3. Midwinter. G. Neubrig. i. 29. Ann. Wav.

A.D. 1153. H. Hunt.

'The kingdom quivered like a bed of reeds swept by the blast,' as report blowed the spirit of exultation or of sorrow. Hope and fear, when one told the number of Henry's ships and of his troops, forestalled his victories or his defeats, furnished him with wealth or depressed his means. Rumour magnified his fleet and arms.

Gesta Sto. ii. pp. 127–8. H. Hunt. R. Wend. Gervase C. G. Neubrig. i. 29.

From thirty-six barks he landed 140 horse, 3,000 foot—probably at Bristol or at Gloster. By one mutilated account, his forces, foiled at Cricklade and Bourton, dispersed in panic; and, no aid coming from the barons, he, in the midst of mutinous, unpaid, soldiers and daily conflicts with the royalists, despaired. It is said that he called in vain for money to his mother, to

CHAP. VIII.

the Earl of Gloster (William); and, being in utter straights, at last threw himself, not in vain, upon the generosity of King Stephen! Actually, Stephen, on the ground of the youth's trouble and because of consanguinity, sent him money! By another contemporary Henry is reported first at Malmesbury—the circumstances not less clear: the statement better borne out. He invested the castle and took it, presently, by assault, while Jordan de Bussy, who still held the keep, sallied and communicated with the king. 'Stephen's countenance changed from dignity to grief.' Nevertheless he summoned his host and pitched near Malmesbury. On the next day he drew out his battle—'distinguished knights, noble chiefs, splendid and formidable, their banners glittering with gold.' But the floodgates of heaven opened, heavy rain drave aslant, sleet, gusts of wind and intense cold, foreboding ruin to the royal cause. The young duke trusted in valour rather than in numbers; 'on the mercy of God and the justice of his claim.' 'He had the wind on his back which struck Stephen in the face.'

A.D. 1153. Gesta Ste. ii. p. 129. G. Neubrig. i. 29. H. Hunt.

Swollen Avon between them, the storm beating, their arms and armour dripping, their hands numbed, their senses dazed, they stood confronting. None dare attempt the ford. None could hold the spear. As it seemed to the spirited scribe, the Ruler of the Elements forbade. 'The king could no longer endure the severity of the weather' and, utterly discomfited, retreated desponding to London. The keep of Malmesbury surrendered. And the duke marched to the relief of Wallingford. Neither did garrison by the way nor any enemy impede. From day to day he gathered supplies of food and, as he went, raised the militia of the country; and, through Wilts and Berks, 'at head of

H. Hunt.

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 1153.

his troops, in splendid array which set off his noble person so that one might say his harness adorned him not so much as he his harness,' announced his advent to conquer and to rule. After night, dawn is beautiful: but Henry Plantagenet had no personal elegance to speak of. Hard-favoured and ungainly compared to Stephen, the clergy, notwithstanding, were dazzled by the rising sun.

H. Hunt.

His approach to Wallingford being stopped by the fort—I suppose either by that built within sight or yet by that other on the bridge—Henry laid siege to Crowmarsh; digging a deep trench round his own camp and that castle so that his army had no egress save by Wallingford and the besieged had no egress by any means.

Stephen now bade the ban and, with all the force he could muster, threatened the duke's position; but Henry, fearlessly, brake down a portion of his rampart and drew out against the king. The royalists wavered, but Stephen held fast.

It will be perceived that a decisive action at this juncture would have resulted honourably to king and duke. But the bane of England, the spirit of self-seeking, its half-heartedness, worked like adder's poison under the lips, like a malign influence. 'Traitorous nobles intervened, who loved nothing better than disunion, who had no pride in war, no care for either prince' but had fain keep each in mutual fear, so they, unchecked, might spoil the land. Stephen and Henry, 'under God's blessing,' foiled the counsel of the evil ones.

H. Hunt.

R. Wend.

Messages passed between the king and the duke who, presently conscious of treachery about them, met,

face to face, on either bank a rivulet and, without witnesses, outlined the future.

A.D. 1153.

Without preliminary truce, Stephen agreed, at his own cost, to raze the fortifications of Crowmarsh—and thus open Wallingford. Each returned to his quarters. Neither laid down arms.

R. Wend. R. de Monte, col. 472. H. Hunt. Triveti Ann. p. 22.

Henry took Reading and Brightwell, defeated a detachment of the king's troops under De Quercy, Martel and De Lucy, nigh Oxford. And the widow-Countess Gundred, having ejected Stephen's soldiers, gave up the hold of Warwick and the town as a propitiation to the rising power. 'And, as the duke's glory arose, so it overshadowed that of the king.' Not wholly. Henry marched on Stamford—into W. de Roumere's country—and achieved the town: but the castle stood out against him till Stephen failed to help. Invited by Hugh Bigod, Henry would have turned on Ipswich; but, hearing that it had surrendered to the king, wheeled on Nottingham, spoiled it of its wealth; yet hesitated to besiege the castle 'impregnable by nature.' And the garrison, not the duke, set Nottingham on fire.

G. Neubrig. i. 29. H. Hunt.

H. Hunt. G. Neubrig. i. 30. Aug. 10.

We learn no more of Henry's warrings nor of the king's. But, while these things were in course, Prince Eustace, preparing to plunder the monastery of S. Edmund, Martyr, at Bury, being struck with fever and frenzy, suddenly expired. And a main obstacle to peace was removed.

His actions not often recorded, we must look for the character of this scion of royalty to the summaries of friend and foe: yet from such can hardly estimate him rightly whose career had been so stormy and so brief. 'His manners were grave: he excelled in war-

Gesta Ste. ii. p. 130.

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 1153.

like exercises: had great natural courage: above all, was affable, generous, munificent; he possessed much of his father's spirit; being in some things, at times, his equal, at others, his superior: always ready to draw the cords of peace: never shrinking from contest with the enemy. While yet a stripling—the down scarcely on his cheek—he bare off the prize from the Earl of Chester and many more. He very gallantly assaulted the fortalice of "The Wood" and dispersed a band of atrocious freebooters; and, to his great fame, took the castle of Ledley.' 'He had sought to obtain Normandy' through his marriage with the French king's sister, 'but little he sped, and that of right, for he was an evil man and did more harm than good wherever he went: he spoiled the lands and laid thereon heavy taxes. He brought his wife to England. She was a good woman, but she had little bliss with him. And it was not the will of Christ that he should bear rule long.' A youth somewhat boisterous—an object of flattery—'fond of low company, dissolute.' And the king's son was buried in the abbey founded by the king's father and mother and refounded by his own father and mother at Feversham: 'a good soldier, but an ungodly man who dealt harshly with the rulers of the church.'

A.S.Chron.

J. Sarisb. Policratic. vi. 18.

H. Hunt.

Almost at the same moment died another obstacle to peace Simon de S. Liz, Earl of Northampton,—recently, by death of Henry Prince of Scots, Earl of Huntingdon also.

Ante, p. 265. Fœd. 1152.

Ranulf de Meschines (Gernons) Earl of Chester, the perpetual treacher—for whose firm alliance Stephen had offered more than a wise king should grant, deceased, poisoned, as is said, by W. Peveril of Notts. David King of Scots, Pope Eugenius and many others,

Cf. Gervase C. A.D. 1153. Triveti. R. de Monte, col. 473.

CHAP. VIII.

ceased from troubling and the great stage of English affairs began to clear itself for new scenes.

A.D. 1153. H. Hunt.

For once in this history the clergy mediated. They, too, had been venal, half-hearted, considering their order, ecclesiastic interests and the like; not at all English, patriotic. Archbishop Theobald, legate, and Henry Bishop of Winchester—the former, as we have seen, inimical to Stephen, in alliance with Henry, the latter, at length, 'repenting the manifold mischiefs he had worked,' even now not loyal, brotherly—consulted with the king and intelligenced with the duke; 'and thus, through God's mercy, after a night of misery, peace dawned on the realm.'

Nov. 7. R. de Monte. Triveti. H. Hunt. A.S.Chron. Parl. Hist. i. 13. P. & C. E. 11. G. Neubrig. i. 30. J. Hagust. 282. Fœd. i. 13.

In a general council of the bishops, earls and '*optimates*,' at Winchester, pursuant to—perhaps far exceeding—the purview of the conciliatory parley at Wallingford, terms were settled between the rival potentates. 'That Stephen, while he lived, should be lord and king and that, after his death, Henry should reign. That, respectively, they should be as father and son; that concord should be between them and in all England. That Prince William, King Stephen's second son and now his heir—the specious claim advanced by King Henry that he had been born in the purple not considered in this case,—should homage Duke Henry and retain in feof all hereditaments in England, Normandy and elsewhere, which Stephen his father had held previous to his accession to the throne and to the duchy: also all that he had acquired by marriage with the heiress of the Earl of Warrenne and Surrey, together with the earldom of Norwich, recently granted to him, and the castles, towns and lands, of Pevensey and of Dover; with feudal superiority over the county of Boulogne. That the unconquered garrison of Wallingford should

CHAP. VIII.

A.D. 1153-4.

at once surrender to the king and that certain castles should forthwith be committed to such persons and in such wise as to secure them eventually to the duke; the Tower of London and the Mote of Windsor, e.g., to Ri. de Lucy, the castle of Oxford to Roger de Lucy, the hold of Lincoln to Jordan de Bussy: that these castellans should give hostages for good faith.' And a general reciprocation of oaths confirmed all. The archbishop, bishops and abbots, by the king's command, sware fealty to the duke. And the earls and all the great men sware to observe the several conditions above. And Stephen and Henry sware to the compact under pain of censure; Matilda, Eleanor and other relatives of Henry, guaranteeing; and Bishop Henry de Blois giving 'contingent assurance' of some sort. 'And it soon became a very good peace, such as never was in this land.' Four secret articles were added: 1. that Henry should defer to the Bishop of Winchester: 2. that Stephen should resume such of the royal demesnes as he had alienated or as had been usurped by the nobles in his time: 3. that all unlicensed castles should be levelled: 4. that all foreign troops should be dismissed the realm.

A.S.Chron. J. Hagust. R. de Diceto, Imag.Hist. R. Wend. H. Hunt.

In splendid procession of magnates, lay and cleric, amid acclamations of a people redeemed from rapine, slavery, death, men weeping for joy, in good fellowship embracing one another, Stephen and Henry bare witness to their harmony. And in London, with no less ostent; countless numbers gratulating.

Triveti. H. Hunt.

A.D. 1153-4. Jan. 13.

The peace gat ratified at Westminster before Christmas; and, at Oxford, the magnates homaged Henry, who in one year had consummated his claim. Two temporary departures from court of 'the new son' are chronicled.

CHAP. VIII.

After a short interval, at Dunstable, the duke complained that castles built since the late king's death had not been demolished pursuant to the treaty: the king made no sufficient reply: but 'father and son' separated amicably; Henry to be received in triumph by the people of Normandy, Mayne, Anjou and Poitou —to quell a revolt in Aquitaine also; Stephen to one more effort at pacifying England.

A.D. 1154. H. Hunt. G. Neubrig. i. 30. Easter. R. Wend.

Brave Henry de Tracey had recently refortified Castle Carey and William Earl of Gloster had thrust him out. And Walter de Pinkney, when released from dungeon, had surprised Christchurch, where one, in a brawl, cut off his head. Some had seized Downton (Hereford).

Gesta Ste. p. 132.

It had been impossible in so brief a time to raze all the robber-holds, the 'unlicensed castles built at men's discretion, eleven hundred and fifteen in number.' But the king, 'more powerful than ever now,' destroyed many fortalices; last of all Drax, whence he expelled Philip Colville.

R. Wend. A.S.Chron. H. Hunt. Triveti Ann. p. 23.

Wending to Dover, he conferred with the Count of Flanders (Diederic); and, while talking — perhaps about arrears of pay due to the discharged Flemings, (William d'Ypres, Earl of Kent, having retired old and blind and, in estimation of the clergy, pious)—King Stephen sickened and, of that sickness, in a few days died. And they bore him from Christ's Church, Canterbury, and laid him in the grave at Feversham beside his wife and his son.

G. Neubrig. i. 32. Oct. 25. Triveti. G. Neubrig. i. 32. A.S.Chron. H. Hunt.

Thus, after eighty-eight years' domination, closes the roll of our Norman Kings.

Of King Stephen's personal aspect I have no note. By tradition, he surpassed all others of his time in manly beauty; and his bust, yet preserved on one side

CHAP. VIII.

the chancel window of ruined Furness Abbey, enhances the idea of a ballad hero. By his queen (whose graceful features are sculptured on the other side that window) Stephen had two children born before his accession, Baldwin and Maude, both of whom died young and were buried in S. Trinity without Aldgate, London: one daughter, unnamed, undated, married to Hervé of Leon, or Levins, the Breton—who for a while held Devizes Castle,—another (if not indeed Maude) betrothed to Waleran Count of Meulan: Eustace, born on the day of his father's coronation: William, subsequently Count of Boulogne, Earl of Mortagne, Earl of Warrenne, Earl of Norwich: and Mary, abbess of Rumsey who, on her brother's decease

A.D. 1160.

without issue, being relieved from her vows, married Matthew of Flanders (son of that Count Diederic who had succeeded William the Clito) and, after bearing Ida and Matilda, returned to her seclusion.

NOTE.—The reader will have perceived from an early period that, contrary to the expectation of those who chose him, Stephen could not 'put an end to the dangers of the realm;' still less could he overcome the treachery and violence which followed. The nation in need of one emphatically a king had crowned but a gentle knight. And the nation revoked that act, albeit

Suger. in V. Lud. G.

indirectly. 'To know much and to act much is not often possible to the same man: but we act before we have achieved knowledge, and we know when we have no longer power to act.' So had it fared with Stephen.

In contrast with each of his predecessors, Stephen lacked that sternness, that perseverant self-will, that reticence, which had awed Saxon and Norman and

subdued hatred to sullen fear. They who dreaded not Stephen, respected him not, loved him not. And the austere, the brutal, the crafty, had better ruled than he. Contemporaries recognised his princely qualities notwithstanding; and the monks, benevolent where they do not reverence, instinctively draw a line between Stephen's natural temper and the exigence of his surroundings; between the popular king and the miseries happening, at least in part, through his insufficiency. On either side the quarrel they extol his virtues and extenuate his failings. 'A man of activity, but imprudent,' says the librarian of Malmesbury, 'strenuous in war, great in difficulties: compassionate to his enemies, affable with all: kind, as far as promising; but apt to disappoint in the performance. Before he came to the throne, from his complacency and gay humour—for he would sit and regale even with low people—he had gained the affections of high and low to a degree hardly conceivable.' 'Clergy and folk grieved for his dethronement because he was condescending to all who were good and quiet; and, if his treacherous nobles would have allowed it, he would have put an end to their nefarious conduct and would have become a beneficent protector of the realm.' 'He injured no one, but suffered his enemies to depart free. The king of peace: would that he were also the king of vigour and justice; in the power of his might protecting the friends of peace.' To one, ever closely attendant,—who may have been his chaplain, his confessor,—he appears 'courteous and obliging to all men; forgetful of royal dignity; on many occasions giving way to others, putting himself on equality, yea, seeming inferior to his subjects; treating with respect churchmen of all ages and ranks.' By some thought 'a persecutor

W. Malm. Hist. Nov. i.

O. Vit. xiii. 43.

J. Wig. A.D. 1138-9.

Gesta Ste. 1. p. 14.

CHAP. VIII.

of bishops,' by all esteemed personally pious. 'Free from simony, an administrator of justice without bribe.' 'He would'—and here I apprehend we may accord—'He would have fulfilled his engagements had not evil counsel, which perverts the best dispositions, and his necessities, which were above law and reason, brought him to break them.'

NOTE

ON THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THIS PERIOD.

THE condition of the National Church at the date of the Norman Conquest appears to have been altogether depressed. Its wealth had been sacked by the Danes, its shrines burnt: the see of Lindisfarne had translated itself for security to Durham: within memory, Primate Ælfeah had been butchered. And with its material ease had descended its spiritual well-being. Flo. Wig A.D. 995. Ib. 1011.

In its preference of secular over regular clergy, in its jealousy of papal pretensions—manifest in the days of the second Eadward,—it had, in a measure, renounced that discipline which, in an early state of cultus, the Roman school and the religious orders insisted on. And it had roused thereby papal animosity and the zeal of the Catholic world. Ib. 975–8.

That its foundations were sound, its endowments large, aggravates the disgrace of declension.

When Wulfstan Archbishop of York defied King Eadmund and set up pagan Anlaf, the insubordination of churchmen had reached a climax which the energy of a Dunstan could not direct nor his reforms save from penalty. Benedictine monks injected into bishoprics, Benedictine convents—more than forty,—bevies of cenobites of both sexes, established by King Eadgar, 'the abode of the priesthood purged of all that was light and trifling,' intimate reaction; but, excepting in the scholars of Ælfric, 'the grammarian, Cf. Lapp. A. S. ii. p. 120, n. 3. A.S.Chron. 941–3 Flo. Wig

Biog. Brit. Lit. i. pp. 480, sq. W. Malm. De Gestis R. iii. 1066.

astronomer, homilist,' there is not much actual evidence of learning or of godliness in these latter years of the Anglo-Saxon Church. 'I know,' says William of Malmesbury, 'that many of the clergy at that day trode the paths of sanctity blameless, but, notwithstanding the blaze of native relics—so that one could scarcely pass a village without hearing the name of some new saint,—in process of time the desire after literature and religion had decayed before the Normans came. The clergy, content with the least learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments and one who understood grammar excited wonder. The monks indulged in dress and food beyond their rule: the priests indecently hurried through the mass.'

The same author—an Anglo-Norman, be it remembered—points to the change, complacently. 'The Normans revived the observances of religion. You might see churches rise in every village, monasteries in city and town, built after a style unknown before: you might behold the country refreshed by renovated rites.'

But if this contrast be not strained—and I believe it to be a monkish picture and highly coloured,—other causes than lay in the sanctimonious pirates must be considered. The Confessor had already introduced alien ecclesiastics: his chancellor Hegolin and his chaplains, from among whom he filled up sees and abbacies, Robert the Frank, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Bishop of London, Ulf of Dorchester, all were Normans; Heremon of Sherborne, a Fleming. The disreputable Lotharingian, Walter Bishop of Hereford, had been chaplain and protégé of Queen Eadgyth. From the Norman cloisters Eadward took the most unfit monks and entrusted to them the richest Saxon abbeys. Glastonbury to Thurstan of Caen, e.g. And there is no proof that, prior to Lanfranc, the imported surpassed the native clergy in aught beside very unmeritous formalisms and, possibly, some military achievements. The Conqueror having, in synod, as a tribute to pique, degraded Stigand from the primacy, of his own motion ousted Ægelmaer from the see of East Anglia and Ægelric from that of

Flo. Wig. A.D. 1060. W. Malm. de Pont. iv.

Lapp. A. S. 186.

A.D. 1070.

Selsey, appointed his chaplain Herefast—whose ignorance had been a joke at home—to the former, one Stigand to the latter, Walkelin, another chaplain, to Winchester, Remegius, monk of Fécamp, to Dorchester and Thomas, Canon of Bayeux, to the archbishopric of York: not one of whom, haply, could hold converse with a native. The last alone respectable. W. Malm. de Pont. 238.

But in truth the Church revolution at this date followed the State revolution; the feudal idea of order and subordination corresponding to and co-operating with the Roman polity. For the papal, like the imperial, scheme had formed itself to meet the wants of nations when graduating; and, as it seems to me, the day had arrived when it behoved England to draw closer into the European family. There is a time for fusion: there is a time for schism: a time for catholic form: a time when only the spirit can be catholic.

There happened in this age three principal ecclesiastical events which I have noticed in their several places and upon which I now dilate:

1. The secularisation of certain Church lands. A.D. 1070.

2. The strife between the Tiara and the Crown on the subject of investiture. A.D. 1107.

3. The revival and regulation of the canon against priests' marriages. A.D. 1108.

Beside a minor affair—the dispute for precedence between the Metropolitans of Canterbury and York. A.D. 1116.

In all these, our Norman kings strave, with more or less success, against papal aggression and against that ancillary form of Church independence, which, in effect, asserts the paradox of *imperium in imperio*.

1. 'King William, having despoiled the monasteries of their gold and silver—taken even chalices from the altar and tinsel from the *feretra*,—placed under military rule all the bishops and abbots who held baronies and who, aforetime, had held in *purâ et perpetuâ eleemosynâ* (excepting always the '*Trinoda necessitas*,' that is, the obligation to protect the realm, to build royal castles, to repair bridges); enrolling the same R. Wend. A.D. 1070. Cf. Selden, iii. pp. 728–9. Lond. 1726. Ib. Tit. Hon. pt. ii. ch. v. 19.

in his exchequer with the number of men-at-arms which each should furnish in time of war.' That is to say the Conqueror finding bishops and abbots seized of hereditaments which, if in the hands of laymen, would, under the new law of the land, have supplied warriors, required them to provide, like laymen, for exigencies of the commonwealth. Clerks imputed sacrilege. But this was simply a movement in the direction of Erastianism.

2. The right of kings to 'invest' bishops and mitred abbots, though occupying many treatises, may be abstracted briefly.

Hooker, Eccl. Pol. viii. vii. 2.

True, 'in the beginning,' clergy and people used to elect their chief pastor. Hence the saying, '*Judicio Dei et populi favore.*' So Leo: 'No reason doth grant that they should be reckoned among bishops whom neither clergy hath elected nor laity coveted.' In like sort Honorius: 'Let him only be established bishop in the see of Rome whom divine judgment and universal consent hath chosen.' True also that, in process of time, the chapters engrossed office and privilege.

Ib. 6.

(S. Jerome had complained that the people's judgment many times went awry; instancing very sufficient objections to their vote.) But, when the hierarchy came to interfere in state affairs, kings learned to meddle in the nomination of prelates; first by recommending such as they desired, then by sovereign means securing election of the same.

Ib. 4. A.D. 425.

The exact history, however, is this. Pope Boniface solicited Honorius to take order that the bishops of Rome might be created without ambitious seeking on their part;

Circà 553. Ben. III. A.D. 855–8. Louis II. A.D. 850–75. Car. III. A.D. 881–8. Comyn, Hist. West. Emp. A.D. 978–1016.

and, from the days of Justinian, 'no person became bishop in that see whom the emperor by his letters patent had not previously licensed.' It pleased the Cæsar to forego his rights in Pope Benedict's case, but those rights were reclaimed by Charles the Bald and continued operant in his successors till the period in review. Here, in the days of Æthelred II., the monks and canons had practically lost their franchise in the matter.

So Rapin, quoting Ingulph. Hooker, ubi sup. 1.

But the ground of the king's prerogative lies in the mixed character of the prelate. 'For in a bishop there are three things to be considered: 1st, The power whereby he is dis-

tinguished from all other pastors. 2nd, The special portion of the clergy and people over which he is to preside. 3rd, The place of his seat, together with the pre-eminencies and honours thereto belonging. The first, every bishop hath by consecration (with which the king interfereth not): the second, his election (howsoever attained) clothes him withall: the third, he receiveth or can receive from the king alone (from whom these mundane emoluments pass). Since, then, the king hath pre-eminence to make lords temporal which are not so by right of birth, so the like pre-eminence of bestowing on whom pleaseth him the honours of spiritual nobility also is just.' Ib. 4.

As symbols of the feudal tie crozier and ring correspond to sword and spear.

Thus William, when but Duke of Normandy, invested the Abbot-elect of Ouche with the exterior jurisdiction of that convent by the staff of Ivo, Bishop of Séez, while William Bishop of Evreux committed to him the interior cure of souls by spiritual consecration. Again, in synod at Rouen, the duke invested Osbern, using the staff of S. Maurilius, archbishop, for investiture; whereupon Bishop Hugh consecrated. And, on decease of Osbern, by advice of the bishop and other prudent counsellors, the duke chose Prior Mainier and invested him with the temporalities of the abbey by delivery of the pastoral staff; commanding him to have those forms which should commit to him the cure of souls duly complied with. And the Conqueror having transmuted the prelate's lands to baronies, *a fortiori*, this incident of lay tenure attached here. A.D. 1059. O. Vit. iii. 5. Ib. 12.

That Gregory VII. wrested from Henry IV. that right which kings and emperors had exercised time immemorial, is to be referred, simply, to that pope's designs on universal suzerainty, which otherwise had been controlled; neither to the nature of the right (which was not affected thereby), nor to the advantage of the Christian community (which was not considered), happened this usurpation of a power which the Church itself had protested against. Six several pontiffs, even with bitter execrations against whomsoever of their Hooker, ut supra, 5. Ib. 9.

successors should go about to infringe the same, had sanctioned the right of 'the Emperor of Rome.' And, in a tract of the time, it is assumed as fact that the bishops of Spain, England, Scotland, Hungary, had, by ancient institution, always been invested by their kings without opposition or disturbance: stated that bishops, even then, did homage and took oaths of fealty unto the kings who invested them: and argued that it skilled not what solemnity kings used therein, whether by word, or by precept in writing, or by delivery of a staff and ring, or by any other mean. And to this a long list of pundits agree that the droit of Christian princes herein is such that the Bishop of Rome cannot lawfully either withdraw or abridge or hinder.

Walthram, Naumb. de Invest. apud Hooker, ubi supra.

Notwithstanding, previous to Hildebrand, 'others had whispered;' and Gregory did but openly assert the papal claim; excommunicating all who, having been elected, should receive investiture of their churches by ring and staff through the hands of the laity. After him, Urban II. launched sentence on all laymen giving ecclesiastical investitures; on all clerks receiving the same; on all consecrating clerks so receiving—even on all homaging laymen for any ecclesiastical dignity. And Pascal II., while disclaiming any desire to increase his own influence or patronage over the Church, or to detract from the royal power or right therein, still urged the point. 'If a lay hand present the Staff, the sign of the shepherd's office, or the Ring, the emblem of faith, what have the bishops to do with the Church?' In this year, at the Council of Rheims, the investiture of bishops and abbots was, therefore, prohibited on this wise: 'Every layman who shall hereafter presume to give investiture shall be subject to the penalty of excommunication. Moreover, the person invested shall be deprived of the dignity with which he sought to be invested without hope of recovering the same.' And this is referred to in the synod at Rouen, though Anselm did not press it when reinstating Herbert in Thetford, nor did any recall that canon on the memorable compromise with King Henry.

W. Malm. de Gestis R. iii. A.D. 1073–1085.

A.D. 1099. Flo. Wig.

W. Malm. de Gestis R. v. Ep. ad H. R. Nov. 22, 1119.

O. Vit. xii. 21.

A.D. 1128. Ib. 48. Cf. ib. ix. 3.

It will have been seen that, through careful management

of Lanfranc, King William, while gratiating the Supreme Pontiff, avoided all collision on the question: that he peremptorily refused to homage him who strave to become sovereign over Christendom and that he disposed of church preferments in his realm and duchy as it pleased him: that Rufus, contemptuously indifferent, took advantage of the schism at Rome; and, acknowledging neither Pope nor Antipope, sequestered all vacant sees, abbacies, benefices. Yet in this latter king's day, as a natural counteraction, the English prelates evinced sympathy with the papal cause. Lanf. Epp. 10, 11. Ed. Giles.

When Anselm would fain fetch the pall from Urban, Rufus forbade. 'Neither his father nor he had suffered any bishop to choose a pope for himself; such an attempt would operate *læsa majestas*.' But pope nor primate advanced the Church's triumph when the one consented that the pall, transmitted through a legate, should be given by the king and the other evasively deigned to lift the symbol from the altar of S. Peter only. Moreover, Rufus invested Gerard and Samson, forthwith, and restored the episcopal staff to Herbert Losing. But the national Church had shown its willingness to be enthralled. Ante, p. 103.

To Henry attaches the disgrace of closing this controversy for a while. His right to the throne not clear, his pretence to the duchy not honest, he dared not embroil himself with the transcendent spiritual power. That is the secret of the favour Beauclerk obtains with clerks. In revoking Anselm, he accepts the priestly programme repugnant to royal honour and to the view of that 'wisest man between this and Jerusalem,' Ro. de Meulan, who perceived that half the realm, being in the hands of bishops and abbots, would withdraw itself from the Crown. Anselm refused, save on his own terms, to consecrate any; and the king called on the Metropolitan of York to perform the rite. But Reinhelm Bishop of Hereford, already consecrate, brought back the insignia; and William Giffard, willing to hold the see of Winchester and to accept the blessing of Gerard, would take the staff only from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Messages on messages passed to and fro; but the persistency of the one Synod. apud Weston. A.D. 1102. Flo. Wig.

party and the necessities of the other brought about an end. And the king, reconciling with the primate, renounced as 'insignificant' the right of investing bishops and abbots with ring and staff, provided that the essential oaths of fealty and homage should be preserved to him and his successors as theretofore to his father. Notwithstanding, Henry himself invested Ralf in the see of Canterbury by ring and staff. And the result shows itself in the next age, in the treasons and revolt of the Bishops of Sarum, Lincoln, Ely; and in the enormous treacheries and presumptuous acts of the Bishop of Winchester, legate of the holy see.

A.D. 1116. R. Wend. Eadmer, 91.

A.D. 1109–1110. Flo. Wig. Cf. Comyn, Hist. West. Emp. i. 174. Flo. Wig. A.D. 1112.

Meantime the terms between the Emperor and the Pope had arranged themselves in a contrary spirit. But Pascal, having exhumed the Cæsar and kept his corpse without sepulture for five years, resuscitated his own dogma. And a Lateran Council condemned the imperial treaty 'for that it contained a proviso that one canonically elect by clergy and people might not be consecrate unless he should previously have received investiture from the secular hand.'

3. The idea of compulsory celibacy in the priesthood or secular clergy dates from the rise of the monks or regular orders. In England, neither the Scots' Church nor the Anglo-Saxon Church had introduced that doctrine prior to the days of Wilfrith. The clergy of either kind resided in their respective convents, it would seem, mutually jealous.

Ib. 648.

Beda, Eccl. Hist. v. 19.

Wilfrith, however, 'having observed that the way of virtue, as shown by the Scots in Lindisfarne, was imperfect, resolved to learn, at Rome, what ecclesiastic or monastic rites might better reach his conception of purity and piety. At Rome and at Lyons, then, he discovered, among other things, the true mode of calculating Easter and the correct form of tonsure. After consecration in France, he became the first of the bishops of the English nation who taught the churches here the Catholic form of life.' Now the Scots' theory as to the day of the great feast being condemned, mainly through Wilfrith's means, and their style of head shaving being ridiculed in the plenitude of vulgar triumph, the seculars—almost wholly of the Scots or Anglican tradition—who were

Ib. iv. 2. A.D. 669.

Ib. iii. 25. A.D. 664. Synod. apud Streanes-balch (Whitby).

accused of gluttony, carnal delights and worldly occupation, gradually suffered ejection by patrons who preferred clerks subject to strict discipline. And the monks, on taking priests' orders, conveniently qualified for the special ministration of the seculars. Thus the rule of S. Benedict, 'father of all monks,' spread from Monte Casino and at length became the orthodox type of ecclesiastical respectability. The seculars fell into the common roll of the confuted; and, since they claimed to be free from vows of celibacy, to the marriage of the clergy instantly was imputed the grossness of sensual lust and the sin of concubinage. Their rites informal, they immoral altogether.

O. Vit. iii. 2. A.D. 1050.

A.D. 509. A.S.Chron.

Archbishop Oda, adopting these views previous to consecration, went to Fleury that he might take the order more effectually; and, in conjunction with enthusiastic Dunstan, strained to substitute monks for seculars in all religious houses. After a short reaction, in which King Eadwig banished Dunstan and the Benedictines, the fervour returned with double force and convent after convent gat purged of the objectionable priests. Æthelwald Bishop of Winchester, by royal consent, drave out 'the clergy' and established monks in the old minster. Advised by him, Eadgar expelled the secular canons from all monasteries and substituted monks and nuns: settled monks in the new minster and at Middleton: placed nuns in Rumsey and monks in Exeter; and, entering into the spirit of reform, commanded Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwald (thenceforth, and for this cause, styled saints), to root out seculars and plant monks in the larger monasteries of Mercia. Still the secular clergy inhabited many convents and ministered in the churches. In the Witan at Calne, however, the respective merits being in debate, accidentally the floor brake and all, save Dunstan—and perhaps a few of his intimates,—falling through, Dunstan's policy gat a farther access of favour. Oswald turned out the clerks 'who preferred their wives to the church' from seven houses in his diocese and inducted monks therein: imported twelve brethren from Fleury to Westbury, set

A.D. 930–961. Biog. Brit. Lit. i. 430–1.

Flo. Wig. A.D. 963.

A.D. 964.

A.D. 967.

A.D. 969.

K. Edward II. A.D. 977.

A.D. 978. Flo. Wig. W. Malm. Chron. J. Oxenedes.

Biog. Brit. Lit. i. 464.

A.D. 983.

A.D. 984–5. monks in Pershore and in the abbey of Winchester, established
A.D. 986. Rumsey, placing there Abbo the scholar; and finally at Worcester 'converted' or thrust out all the married clergy.

Beyond all charges of sloth, gluttony, ignorance, clamour rose against the secular clergy by reason of their persistency in marriage. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, preaching zealously, said, 'We do not compel you by force to put away your wives: but we inform you in what manner it behoves you to act. . . . I tell you, who are the clergy of my diocese, the injunctions of holy canons . . . but this seems incredible to you because frequent use has made your misery so familiar to you that you think it no sin if priest or deacon or clerk live with a wife after the manner of laymen: you also say that the apostle Peter had a wife and children.' Wives and the sentiment subsisted still. But, altogether from another point of view, the marriage of priests appeared at this time dangerous to the State not less than to the interests of the Church. Under this aspect, truly, the natural right of the *clerici* to beget offspring loses some pertinence. Since in all ranks and offices laymen had—and then but recently—extended personal trusts of land, personal authorities, personal honours, into hereditary property, priests had transmitted and claimed, as of right, to transmit their benefices as heirlooms: had portioned their daughters thereout. Married prelates had, through affection, chosen even to apostatise rather than resign their sees, in King Eadwig's time.

See Lapp. A. S. ii. 128. Lyttelton, Hist. H. II. v. i. n. p. 123.

The monks, by their novelty and by their superior external sanctity, gained favour with the people. And, at length, when the priests saw them prevail, they yielded in some sort; their chief Wlencing taking the monastic habit. Nevertheless use and nature worked; secret backslidings, open oppugnments. And, in a while, synod and council took in hand the delinquency which neither precept, example nor opinion, had been able to subdue—the inveterate practice of human right. In the days of Ælfheah Archbishop of Canterbury, at synod in Eynsham Abbey, Oxon, the second canon enjoined celibacy on all the clergy: but, by Cnut's ecclesiastical law, that state

Biog. Brit. Lit. i. 466.

A.D. 1006–11. Spelman, Conc. i. 513.

is recommended only. 'If a priest abstain from woman, may God have mercy on him.' Eccl. Ll. Can. xii.

'At this time,' says Orderic, 'and ever since the coming in of the Northmen, the celibacy of the clergy was so little preserved that not only priests but even bishops openly boasted of their numerous families of sons and daughters. . . . At length Bruno of Lorraine, Bishop of Toul (pope under the name of Leo IX.), returning to Rheims, held a general council and, *inter alia*, prohibited priests from bearing arms or having wives. Priests have now ceased to bear arms, but they are still reluctant to give up their women. John Archbishop of Rouen, having taken severe measures to separate priests from their concubines' (for by this degrading term they who could no longer be canonically married henceforth are designate), 'on prohibiting the intercourse under pain of excommunication, was assailed by stones.' But, with the zeal of a Roman, he advanced thereon; and, referring to a synod at Lisieux, decreed that 'priests, deacons and subdeacons, who have taken women to live with them shall not have cure of souls, neither of themselves nor by their vicars, nor shall they receive any part of the revenues thereof: that archdeacons, who ought to enforce discipline, shall not have handmaids or any women of the sort.' In council at Winchester, Lanfranc, with that consideration for human nature which was his grand characteristic, moderated while tabulating the clerical offences. 'No canon shall have a wife: but such priests as live in castles or villages shall not be forced to put away their wives, should they have such: yet they who have not such already be forbidden to marry. And, for the future, let bishops take care not to ordain any man priest or deacon unless he shall first profess that he hath no wife.' But in synod and assembly of nobles at Lilleborne King William decreed that no priest, deacon, subdeacon, nor any dean or canon, should, under any pretence, have a woman in his house; stating that he interfered not with purpose of encroaching in perpetuity on the judicial right of his bishops but because his prelates at the time were supine therein. In synod at London, Primate Anselm prohibited priests from living with

A.D. 1066–87. O. Vit. v. 12.

Oct. 1, 1049.

A.D. 1067. O. Vit. iv. 2.

A.D. 1072. Ib. 10.

A.D. 1076. Corc. Brit. ii. 11, art. i.

A.D. 1080. O. Vit. v. 5.

H. Hunt. A.D. 1102.

wives (*uxores*),—'a thing not before forbidden,' says the archdeacon, son of an archdeacon; and again, six years later,

Flo. Wig. A.D. 1108. decree ran that priests, deacons, subdeacons, archdeacons and canons, should live chastely and should have no woman in their houses.

A.D. 1119. O. Vit. xii. 1. In the Council of Rheims, Pope Calixtus interdicted all priests, deacons, subdeacons, from cohabiting with wives or concubines: deprived transgressors of ecclesiastical offices and benefices; who, if not corrected thereby, should be cut

Ib. 24. off from Christian communion. And Godfrey, Archbishop of Rouen, stirred up thereby, dealt cruelly with his clergy, interdicting them from all commerce with females of every sort and excommunicating offenders prospectively. But 'the struggle between flesh and spirit' roused loud mutterings in that synod; and arrest of one Albert, spokesman for many, provoked riot. The prelatic guard cleared the church, the clergy dispersed,—some to their homes, in muddy albs, dishevelled; others (arming with rails and stones) to try the argument of force: those showed their bruises to pitying families, these pressed the soldiers back into the sacristy: 'cooks, bakers, scullions,' on virtue's side, one knows not who else on the women's! *Report went to the king:* but Henry, busy, deferred redress.

H. Hunt. A.D. 1123. Sept. 27. Ante, p. 207. In Archbishop William's time, Cardinal John of Crema held synod in London and bitterly inveighed against the scandal 'that one should rise from a woman's bed to make Christ's body:' but the legate, missioner from holy see, in his own acts betrayed grosser indecency than any priestly

Ib. 1125. concubinage. Again divers minute regulations passed in order to circumvent subterfuges of every imaginable ingenuity. Matthew, legate, coming to Rouen, met King Henry;

O. Vit. xii. 48. A.D. 1128. and this sharp decree of Pope Honorius gat promulgated. 'No priest shall have any wife. Any priest who will not give up concubinage shall not hold a church, nor obtain any share in ecclesiastical preferments. None of the faithful shall have mass celebrated by such an one.'

H. Hunt. A.D. 1129. And, in the next year, the matter still raging with clerical

acrimony, happened that artful compromise which I have recorded in the text. Ante, p. 217.

The principle subsisted intact. The vice of it is shown in that while a slur yet rested on the married priest, royally licensed, who lived honestly, no check happened on secret incontinence. Henry had yielded the right to invest: he might be indulged awhile herein. Rome had conquered the principalities of the world there: she would surely sway the balance of Church feeling here. In fact, morality had not been considered, nor had the elegant refinement of Cardinal John any weight. Neither had the true bearing of this trespass on the secular clergy been expressed; rather it had been carefully concealed. Under the specious premise that the marriage state was, abstractedly, impure and that it behoved such as ministered in holy things to be pure—(the latter proposition repudiated in its turn)—Roman policy sought to withdraw the clergy from human affections not less than from domestic ties as a mean to reduce all ecclesiastical estates to a like supervision and to subordinate them to the temporal interests of the papacy; and it took advantage of the new-born enthusiasm of those who had vowed celibacy and other obediences to particular rule to stigmatise as unchaste and disobedient to God's law brethren whose obligations were, perhaps, more thoroughly operant in the married state. And, indeed, at one time, Pope Pascal had given as a reason for continuing the sons of priests in their fathers' churches that 'the sons of the clergy were the greatest and best part of the clergy.' Eadmer, iv. p. 91.

With regard to precedence of the metropolitan see of Canterbury over that of York, feudal order would perhaps ignore that equality of state which seems proper to an equal or co-ordinate spiritual jurisdiction. But the archfeudalism of Roman polity required, beside the grade, the humiliation of both archbishops under a legate *a latere*; a primate of England and a primate of all England under a vicar apostolic.

INDEX.

ABB

ABBOTSBURY, 272, 289.
Abernethy, treaty of, 48.
Abrincis, *see* Hugh; Richard.
Acquigny, 245.
Adelaide, Queen Dowager of France, 210.
Adeliza de Bellomont, 196.
Agatha, daughter of William II., Duke of Normandy, 11.
Ægelmaer, Bishop of Helmham, 46.
Ægelnoth, Abbot of Glastonbury, 31.
Ægelwine, Bishop of Durham, 35, 46–48.
Ældred, Bishop of Worcester, xc, xci.
Ælfgar, Earl, lxxxvii, lxxxix, xc, xci.
Ælfgifu-Emma, Queen of Æthelred II., lxi, lxvii, lxxi, lxxviii, lxxxiii, 3.
Ælfgifu, daughter of Æthelred II., lxxiii.
Ælfheah, Archbishop of Canterbury, lxx, lxxxi.
Ælfmaer, Abbot of S. Augustine's, lxx.
Ælfred, the Ætheling, lxxi, lxxxii, lxxxiii.
Ælfsige, Abbot of Peterborough, lxxi.
Ælfwyn, daughter of Alfhelm, lxxxi.
Ætheling, the, *see* Eadgar; Eadmund; Eadward; William; Eustace.
Æthelmaer, Ealdorman of Devonshire, lxxi.
Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, lxxxii.
Æthelnoth, reeve of Kent, 31.
Æthelred II., King of England, lix–lxxiii.
Æthelric, Abbot of Middleton, 136.
Æthelstan, son-in law of Æthelred II., lxix.
Aids, 72.
Aisborn, 37.
Alan-Fergant, Count of Penthièvre, Earl of Richmond, 21, 43.
Alan V., Count of Bretagne, lxii, lxiii, lxiv.
Alan of Dinan (the Savage), Earl of Richmond, 274, 293, 299, 300, 307.

ARU

Alban's, S., 102, 159, 313.
Albemarle, *see* William.
Alberic de Vere, Lord High Chamberlain, 277, 278, 310.
Alberic, legate, 264, 266.
Albini, *see* Nigel; William.
Alderi, d', *see* William.
Aldwyn, Abbot of Ramsey, 136, 137.
Alençon, lxii, 165, 168.
Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, 41, 205, 273–276, 334, 347.
Alexander II., Pope, 14, 15, 29.
Alfhun, Bishop of London, lxxi.
Alfred, son of Joel, 238.
Alice of Louvaine, 193, 208, 282, 283.
Almenèches, castle of, 139, 140.
Alnwick, 259.
Alost, 213.
Alverede de Verneuil, 246.
Amaury de Montfort, 162, 165, 166, 173, 175, 179, 184, 185, 195, 198, 199, 202.
Amaury, Viscount of Thouars, 21.
Amice (or Aubrey) de Bellomont, 196.
Andelle, 350.
Andelys, 171, 178.
Andover, 319.
Anglesea, Isle of, 92, 93.
Anglia, East, 28.
Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 99, 101–103, 126, 127, 136, 137, 154–156.
Anselm de Cresci, 165.
Anselm, the Legate, 160.
Ansgar, chief ealdorman, 25.
Archill of Northumbria, 35–37.
Argentan, 106, 129, 149, 244.
Arnulf, Count of Flanders, lvii, lviii.
Arnulf de Hesdin, 256.
Arnulf de Montgomery, 92, 131, 133, 135, 139.
Arnulf Mandeville, 338.
Arques, lxv, 165.
Artald, lvii.
Arundel Castle, 30, 83, 131, 132, 280, 282, 283.

ASN

Asnebec, 246.
Assendun, battle of, lxxvi.
Astrith, sister of King Cnut, lxii, lxxxiv.
Aumale, d', *see* Stephen.
Aunay, 326.
Avranches, 250.

BALDERIC DE BRAI, 177, 178.
Baldwin de Moles, 33.
Baldwin de Redvers, 233, 237, 239, 280.
Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert de Clare, 241, 301, 303.
Baldwin IV., of Hainault, 289.
Baldwin IV., Count of Flanders, lx.
Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, 14.
Baldwin VII., Count of Flanders, 164, 165, 172.
Balliol, *see* Bernard; Regnold.
Ballon, 85, 113.
Bamborough, 108, 259.
Barcelona, lxi.
Barfleur, lix, 141.
Barre, Luke de la, *see* Luke.
Barnstaple, 280.
Basoches, 249.
Basset, *see* Ralf.
Bastenbourg, 326.
Bath, 82, 254. Conference, 295.
Batthenton, or Badington, de, *see* Robert.
Battle, wager of, 75.
Bayeux, lv, 141, 266.
Beauchamp, *see* Milo; William.
Beaugency, de, *see* Elias.
Beaumont, 202.
Beaumont, *see* Ralf; Matthew.
Bedford, 251, 307, 341.
Belésme, 163, 165.
Belésme, Counts of, *see* Robert; Roger; William.
Bellomont, *see* Adeliza; Amice; Elizabeth; Hugh, Earl of Bedford; Robert, Count of Meulan; Robert, Earl of Leicester; Waleran, Count of Meulan.
Benevolences, 72.
Benson, 325, 327.
Berkeley, 342.
Bernard de Balliol, 260.
Bernard of Clairvaux, 347.
Bernard of Neufmarché, 82, 92.
Bernei, 198.
Bernhard de Lille, 120.
Bernicia, 32.
Berthold, the butcher, 191.
Bienfaite, de, *see* Richard.
Bigod, *see* Hugh; Roger; William.
Blaatand, *see* Harold.
Bloet, Robert, Bishop of Dorchester, *see* Robert.

CAS

Blythe, 132, 135.
Bôcland, 67, 70.
Bodric, Abbot of Bourgh (Shrewsbury), 136.
Boet, the archer, 245.
Bonneville, 289, 350.
Bordarii, 74.
Borleg, Odo, *see* Odo.
Bosham, lxxxvii.
Boterel, Count, 318.
Bouchard de Montmorency, Constable of France, 176.
Bougi-sur-Risle, 246.
Bourgtereude, battle of, 199.
Bourton, 350.
Bouzeville, 350.
Brai, de, *see* Balderic.
Brecknock, 92.
Brémule, battle of, 176–178.
Brentford, lxxv.
Bretagne, Duchy of, 163, 250.
Bréteuil, *see* Eustace; William.
Bréteuil, 170, 181, 196, 289.
Breval, 350.
Bridgenorth, 133, 134.
Brightric, lxviii.
Brightwell, 353.
Brihtric, the Saxon, 33.
Brionne, 197, 202.
Briquesart, 326.
Bristol, 82.
Bristol Castle, 208, 222, 253, 254, 284, 304, 332.
Bruce, de, *see* Robert.
Brun, De, 142.
Bryan Fitz Count, 211, 236, 253, 284, 304, 313, 318, 320, 329.
Buckingham, earldom of, 30.
Bures, 106, 165.
Burgundy, lx.
Bury S. Edmund's, 353.
Bussey, de, *see* Jordan.

CADWALLADER, 299.
Caen, 142, 222, 249, 326.
Caerleon, castle of, 92.
Cailly, 245.
Caldoet, *see* Henry; Ralf.
Calixtus II., Pope, 181, 182, 186, 205.
Cambridge, lxix, 64, 335.
Canterbury, lxviii, lxx, 26, 102, 158, 218. Synod of, 154. Archbishop of, legate, 208.
Cardigan, 92, 241, 242.
Carlisle, 90, 219, 233.
Careclove, castle of, 133, 135.
Carrouges, 246.
Castle Carey, 255, 357.
Castles, Norman, 63.

CAS

Castles held adversely to King Stephen, 253.
Caux, 165.
Ceneri, S., 85, 164.
Céorl, 66.
Cérences, 326.
Cerne, 284, 287.
Chamai, W. de, *see* William.
Chandos, 198.
Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, 210.
Charter of Henry I., 124.
Châteauneuf, 175.
Chaumont, lxii, 210.
Chaumont, de, *see* Osmond.
Cheney, *see* Roger; William.
Cherbourg, 87.
Cheshire, 92.
Chester, lxxiii. Earldom of, 30, 64.
Chichester, city of, 30, 311.
Christchurch, 357.
Christian, the Queen's clerk, 309.
Christina, daughter of Eadmund (Ironside), xci.
Church affairs, 45-47, 58, 94, 96, 97 *et seq.*, 124, 137, 154-156, 159, 160, 182, 183, 204, 205, 207, 208, 216, 267-269, 276, 277, 349, 361.
Cinteaux, 142.
Cintri, 350.
Cirencester, 304, 325, 327, 328.
Claire, St., castle of, 164.
Clare, *see* Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert; Gilbert de, Lord of Tonbridge; Gilbert de, Earl of Pembroke; Gilbert de, Earl of Hertford; Richard Fitz-Gilbert de, Lord of Cardigan.
Clement III., Antipope, 95.
Clifford, castle of, 92.
Clinton, Bishop of Chester, *see* Roger.
Clitheroe, battle of, 259.
Clito, title of, 55.
Conversana, *see* Sibylla; William.
Cnut, King of Denmark and England, lxx-lxxxi, 4, 9.
Cnut, son of Svend II. of Denmark, 37, 54, 59.
Coleberti, 74.
Colville, *see* Philip.
Comines (Comyn), de, *see* Robert.
Comyn, W., *see* William.
Conan of Rouen, 86, 87.
Conan III. of Bretagne, 162, 163.
Conches, 87.
Constance of France, 292.
Copsi, 28, 32.
Corbet, Sibyl, *see* Sibyl.
Corby, 297.
Corfe Castle, 280.
Cornwall, 33, 293, 307. Earldom of, 30.

DUR

Earls of, *see* Reginald; Robert; William.
Cospatrick, Earl of Northumbria, xcii.
Cotentin, the, lvi, 85, 129.
Cotsetlas, 74.
County Courts, 75.
Courci, 170.
Courci, *see* Richard; Robert.
Coventry, 336, 344.
Cresci, *see* Anselm; Gilbert.
Cricklade, 336, 339, 350.
Crispin, *see* Miles; William.
Croix, S. Leuffroi, 245.
Crowmarsh, 352, 353.
Crusades, the, 109, 343.
Cumberland, 41, 42, 90.
Curboil, *see* William.
Cutune Moor, battle of, 260.

DANEGELT, lxvii, lxx, lxxix, 38, 59.
Danes in England, lvii, lxi, lxvii, xciii, 37, 38, 47, 54, 264.
Dangu, 175.
Danguiel, 112.
Darlington, 142.
D'Aunay, *see* Gunhier.
D'Aufray, *see* Walter.
David I., King of Scotland, 209, 208, 233, 252, 259, 265, 318, 320, 354.
Derby, 64.
Dermod, King of Ireland, 37.
Devizes Castle, 271, 275, 276, 294, 307, 320
Diederic, nephew of the Emperor Henry V., 189.
Diederic of Biche, Count of Flanders, 213, 215, 357.
Dive, Abbot of, 144.
Dôl, 55.
Dolphin, viceroy of Malcolm III., 90.
Domesday Book, 34, 59, 63.
Domfront, lxvi, 87, 141, 244.
Donald Bane, 90, 91.
Dorchester, 64, 96.
Dover, lxxxvi, 10, 11, 26, 30, 32, 37, 256.
Downton, 357.
Drax, 357.
D'Oyley, *see* Robert.
Dudley, 256.
Duncan, son of Malcolm III. of Scotland, 80. King of Scotland, 90, 91.
Dunsinane, lxxxix.
Dunstable, 250, 357.
Dunstanville, de, *see* Reginald.
Dunster, 280.
Durham, 36, 56, 84. Treaty of, 264.

EAD

EADGAR the Ætheling, son of Eadmund (Ironside), xci.
Eadgar the Ætheling, 4, 5, 9, 25, 27, 31, 35, 36, 41, 43, 147, 148.
Eadgar, Prince of Scotland, 91.
Eadgyth, Queen of Eadward the Confessor, lxxxv, lxxxvii, lxxxix.
Eadgyth, Queen of Harold II., xcii, 24, 25.
Eadgyth (Maude, Matilda), Queen of Henry I., 127, 160, 161.
Eadgyth, daughter of Æthelred II., lxvii.
Eadmund (Ironside), lxxi. *et seq.*, 4, 8, 9.
Eadmund, Ætheling (Outlaw), son of Eadmund (Ironside), lxxviii, xc, 4.
Ealdormen, 65, 67, 75.
Eadred, son of Eadmund Ironside, 8.
Eadric Streona, lxviii, lxx, lxxiii, lxxv, lxxviii.
Eadric the forester, 28, 31, 32, 48.
Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury, lxxxiv.
Eadward, son of Malcolm III., 90.
Eadward the Ætheling, xci, 4, 5.
Eadward the Confessor, lxxi, lxxviii, lxxxii–xcii, 3–5, 12, 15.
Eadward, son of Eadmund (Ironside), lxxviii.
Eadwig, King, 8, 369, 370.
Eadwig, "king of the churls," lxxviii.
Eadwig, the Ætheling, lxxviii.
Eadwig, brother of Ælfy, lxix.
Eadwine, Earl, brother-in-law of King Harold, xcii, xciii, 25, 27, 28, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 43, 47, 48.
Ealdred, Archbishop of York, 25, 26, 28.
Ecardanville-sur-Eure, 245.
Echoufour, 174.
Eclipse of the sun, 293.
Ecouché, 246.
Edward, Earl of Salisbury, 176.
Eleanor of Guienne, 250, 349.
Elias de Beaugency, 85.
Elizabeth de Bellomont, 196.
Ely, 47, 48, 291, 292. Church of, 158. Bishopric of, 159.
Emma, Duchess of Normandy, lix.
Emma, daughter of Duke Richard I. of Normandy, *see* Ælfgifu.
England, state of, lxi, lxvii, *et seq.*, 25, 26, 30. State of, 31, 32, 35, 39, 41, 44–51, 58, 59, 68, 69, 73, 74, 79, 82, 103, 104, 143, 156, 157–159, 204, 205, 208, 219, 233–242, 252, 257, 258, 280–282, 332, 345, 348.
Enguerrand de Sai, 303.
Enguerrand de Vascueil, 165.
Erembergh, heiress of Le Mayne, 151.
Eric, Earl of Northumbria, lxxviii.
Eric Lamb, 264.

FOR

Estoteville, d', *see* Robert.
Eu, 87, 107.
Eu, Counts of, *see* Henry; Robert; William.
Eudes of France, lxv.
Eudes (Odo) of Champagne, 30, 43, 109.
Eugenius III., Pope, 349, 354.
Eustace, Count of Boulogne, lxxxvi, 23, 32.
Eustace the younger, Count of Boulogne, 81, 82, 83, 135, 141.
Eustace de Bréteuil, 165, 168–170, 174, 175, 179, 185, 244.
Eustace Fitz-John, 252, 259.
Eustace, son of King Stephen (the Ætheling), 249, 292, 322, 345, 347, 350, 353.
Evreux, city of, 165, 175, 185.
Evreux, county of, 142, 198.
Evreux, *see* Walter.
Evreux, Counts of, *see* William; Amaury.
Ewias, castle of, 92.
Exeter, lxvii, 33, 36, 64, 158, 233, 237.

FALAISE, 148, 266, 289, 321.
Faringdon, 340.
Fealty, oath of, 71.
Fécamp, lix, 87. Abbey of, 292.
Fécamp, de, *see* Gerard.
Fergant, *see* Alan.
Ferrers, *see* Robert; Walkelin.
Ferté, La, 164, 167, 350.
Feudal customs, 29, 44, 70–73.
Feversham, 354, 357.
Fitz-Alan, *see* William.
Fitz Corbet, *see* Roger.
Fitz Count, *see* Bryan.
Fitz-Gilbert, *see* John.
Fitz Hamon, *see* Mabel; Robert.
Fitz-Hildebrand, *see* Robert.
Fitz Hubert, *see* Robert.
Fitz-John, *see* Eustace.
Fitz-Odo, *see* William.
Fitzosbern, *see* Roger; William.
Fitz Richard, *see* Robert; Roger.
Fitz Roger, *see* Roger.
Fitz Scrob, 31, 32.
Fitz-Urse, *see* Richard.
Fitz Walter, Constable, *see* Milo.
Fitz Milo, Earl of Hereford, *see* Roger.
Flambard, or Passeflambard, *see* Ranulf.
Flanders, 110. Counts of, *see* Baldwin; Charles; Diederic; William.
Flemings, in Pembrokeshire, 159.
Fleury, son of Philip I., 174.
Folcland, 70.
Forest, New, 90.

Fossard, W., *see* William.
Fulchered, Abbot of Shrewsbury, 117.
Fulke, Count of Anjou, 113, 151, 153, 162–164, 168, 173, 195, 212.
Furnes, 213.

GAINSBOROUGH, lxx, lxxii.
Gamul, son of Orm, xcii.
Gand, 213.
Garlande, W. de, *see* William.
Gateshead, 56.
Gebûrs, 74.
Gelasius II., Pope, 181.
Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Hereford, 189.
Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, 27, 54, 81, 82.
Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, 212, 216, 218, 246–248, 250, 266, 289, 305, 321, 345, 347.
Geoffrey of Anjou, son of the last, 349, 350.
Geoffrey de l'Aigle, 189–191.
Geoffrey Harcelin, 260.
Geoffrey de Mandeville, 334, 335, 337.
Geoffrey Riddel, 189.
Geoffrey de Tourville, 200.
Geoffrey Talbot, 253, 254, 295.
Geoffrey, son of Count Geoffrey of Vendôme, 246.
Gerard, Archbishop of York, 137, 154.
Gerard, Bishop of Worcester, 103.
Gerard de Fécamp, 165.
Gerard de Gournay, 85.
Gerberoi, 55.
Gherbod, the Fleming, lxvi, 30, 40.
Giffard, *see* Walter; William.
Gilbert, 56.
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, 300, 302.
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford, 344, 345.
Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Tonbridge, 108, 245, 246.
Gilbert de Cresci, 165.
Gilbert d'Eu, lxiii.
Gilbert de Hiesmes, 189.
Gilbert de Lacey, 43.
Gilbert de Lacey, 254.
Gilbert de l'Aigle, 86.
Giroie, de S. Ceneri, *see* Robert.
Gisele, lvi.
Gisors, 163, 198.
Gisors, *see* Hugh; Paganus.
Gisulph, 189.
Glamorgan, 92.
Glos, 170, 180, 181.
Gloster, lxxxvii, 252, 253, 285, 304. Treaty of, 89. Earls of, *see* Robert; William.

Goda, sister of Eadward the Confessor, lxxxvi.
Godfrey, Bishop of Durham, 219.
Godfrey de Perans, 177.
Godfrey of Louvaine, 194, 213.
Godive, xc.
Godric, Abbot of Middleton, 136.
Godwine, Bishop of Rochester, lxx.
Godwine, Earl of Sussex, lxxxiii–lxxxix, 7, 15.
Goël, *see* Robert.
Gospatric, 32, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43.
Gouffern, forest of, 130.
Gournay, 86, 87.
Gournay, *see* Hugh; Gerard.
Gower, 240.
Grandcourt, de, *see* William.
Grantmesnil, *see* Hugh; Ivo; Robert.
Gregory, Antipope, 182, 185.
Gregory VII., Pope, 58, 95.
Griffyth of South Wales, lxxxvi, xc, xci, 159, 195.
Grosœuvre, 250.
Guader, Ralf de, *see* Ralf.
Gué Beranger, 249.
Guerribecci, the, 246, 247.
Guildford, lxxxiii.
Guillefontaine, 164.
Gundred, Countess of Warwick, 353.
Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, 155.
Gunhier d'Aunay, 141.
Gunhild, lxviii.
Gunnor, Duchess of Normandy, lxi.
Gunter, 140.
Guy, Abbot of Pershore, 136.
Guy, Count de Clermont, 177.
Guy, Count of Ponthieu, lxv, 10.
Guy de Malvoisin, 175.
Gyrth, son of Earl Godwine, xcj, 22, 24.
Gytha, King Harold's mother, lxxxiv, 33.

HACHET; *see* Robert.
Haimon, Abbot of Cerne, 136.
Hakon, Jarl, 54.
Harcelin, *see* Geoffrey.
Harcourt, *see* Philip; William.
Harding, *see* Roger.
Harold Blaatand, lviii.
Harold Harefoot, King of England, lxxxi.
Harold II., King of England, lxxxvii, *et seq.*, 4–6, 12–15, 17–19, 21, 23, 24, 60–62.
Harold Hardráda, King of Norway, xciii, 12, 17.
Harold, son of Svend II. of Denmark, 37.
Harptree, 255, 287.

HAR

Harthenut, King of England, lxxxiii.
Hastings, 16, 19. Battle of, 20, 24, 50.
Hélie, Count of Le Mayne, 111–113, 114, 128, 142, 144, 147, 149.
Hélie de S. Saens, Count d'Arques, 161, 162.
Henry I., King of England, 60, 84–87, 107, 115, 123, 124, 127–139, 141–150, 152–154, 156–178, 180, 181, 183, 185–189, 191–193, 195–200, 202, 203, 208, 209, 211, 216, 218–222, 230.
Henry I., King of France, lxv.
Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, 14.
Henry V., Emperor of Germany, 158, 182, 185, 203.
Henry, Duke of Burgundy, 162.
Henry Caldoet, 342.
Henry, Count of Champagne, 350.
Henry de Blois, Abbot of Glastonbury, Bishop of Winchester, 218, 231, 276, 304, 308–312, 314, 316, 318, 321, 324, 334, 348, 349, 355.
Henry d'Eu, 141, 164, 176.
Henry Murdach, Archbishop of York, 292.
Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 345–347, 349, 350–355.
Henry de Pomerei, 198.
Henry, Prince of Scots, 233, 262–266, 354.
Henry de Sulli, 292.
Henry de Tracey, 280, 330, 357.
Herbert de Lisieux, 198.
Herbert Losing, Bishop of Thetford, 96, 103.
Hereford, lxxxvii, xc, 253, 287, 295. Earldom of, 30. See of, 103. Earls of, *see* Roger Fitzosbern; Milo Fitz Walter; Roger Fitz Milo.
Herefordshire, 92.
Hereward, the 'outlaw,' 47, 48.
Heriman, Bishop of Ramsbury, lxxxv.
Heriot, 65.
Herlouin, a knight, 61.
Hervé the Breton, 307, 358.
Hesdin, de, *see* Arnulf.
Hiesmes, 140, 170, 244, 245, 249.
Hiesmes, de, *see* Gilbert; William.
Hildegarde, Countess of Poitou, 184.
Holderness, earldom of, 30.
Homage, 71.
Houlme, La, 106.
Hugh d'Abrincis (Lupus), son of Richard (Goz), Earl of Chester, 40, 57, 82.
Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, 276, 277, 306.
Hugh Bigod, Earl of East Anglia, 232, 236, 300, 335, 337.

LAC

Hugh, Bishop of Bayeux, lxii.
Hugh de Bellomont, Earl of Bedford, 251, 307.
Hugh de Gisors, 198.
Hugh de Grantmesnil, 21, 30, 31, 43, 81, 82.
Hugh the Great, lix.
Hugh (Keveliok), 346.
Hugh de Lacey, 92.
Hugh de Lisieux, 198.
Hugh de Montfort, 30, 196, 200, 202.
Hugh de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, 93.
Hugh de Moulines, 189.
Hugh de Neufchatel, 196, 200, 202 215.
Hugh de Plessis, 202.
Hugh, Sieur de Gournay, 164, 185.
Hugh Talbot, 164.
Hugo, lxxxvi.
Hugolin, Chancellor, lxxxv.
Humphrey de Mohun, 284.
Hundred, the, 68, 74.
Huntingdon, earldom of, 265.

ILBERT DE LACEY, 260, 303.
Innocent II., Pope, 218, 234.
Ipswich, lxix, 37, 353.
Ivo de Grantmesnil, 129, 189.
Ivri, castle of, 168, 169.

JEANNE of Montferrat, 209, 210.
Jews in England, 339.
John of Crema, Cardinal, 206, 207.
John Fitz-Gilbert, 294, 296.
John, Bishop of Lisieux, 306.
John the Mareschal, 320.
Jordan de Bussy, 351.
Judith, Countess of Northumbria, lxii.
Judith, Duchess of Normandy, xc.
Judith, niece of William I., 43.
Juliana, natural daughter of Henry I., 168–170, 185.
Juries, 69.
Jurisprudence, 68, 69, 74, 75.

KAINES, De, 303.
Kelts, 91–93.
Kent, earldom of, 30, 82.
King, office and power of the, among the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in England, 4, 7, 64–67.
Knights' fees, 70, 71.

LACEY, de, *see* Gilbert; Hugh; Hubert; Robert; Roger.

LAE

Laenland, 68.
L'Aigle, defence of, 166, 168.
L'Aigle, *see* Geoffrey; Gilbert; Richer.
Lambeth, synod of, 127.
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 15, 47, 80, 84, 94, 95, 97–105.
Ledley, castle of, 354.
Leeds, in Kent, 256.
Leicestershire, 82.
Leobwine, Dean of Durham, 56.
Leofgar, Bishop of Hereford, xci.
Leofric, Earl of Mercia, lxxxv, lxxxix.
Leofrun, Abbess of S. Mildred, lxx.
Leofwine, brother of King Harold, lxxxvii, 24.
Leutgard of Vermandois, lvii.
Lille, 213.
Lincoln, 64, 303, 344, 345, 297, 298, 336, 344, 345. Battle of, 300–302, 345.
Lincolnshire, 37.
Lire, 170, 181.
Lisieux, 202, 247.
Lisieux, *see* Herbert; Hugh.
Liulf, kinsman of Earl Waltheof, 56.
London, lxix, lxxii, lxxiv, lxxv, 22, 25–27, 228, 229, 232, 309, 313, 315, 316, 320. Conference of, 216. Tower of, 295.
Losing, senior, Abbot of Winchester, 96.
Losing, Herbert, Bishop of Thetford, *see* Herbert.
Louis (d'Outremer), King of France, lvii, lviii.
Louis VI., King of France, 152, 162–164, 171, 175–178, 179, 180, 184, 187, 203, 210, 234, 250, 292.
Louis VII., King of France, 250, 347, 349, 350.
Louvel, William, *see* William.
Lucia, heiress of Ælfgar, 296.
Lucy, R. de, *see* Roger.
Ludlow, 266.
Lovaine, *see* Godfrey.
Luke de la Barre, 200, 201.
Lullworth, 328.
Luvre, castle of, 92.

MABEL Fitz Hamon, 282
Maerlsweyn, 35, 37.
Magnus III., King of Norway, 93.
Malcolm III., King of Scotland, 41–43, 48, 88–90.
Malet, Robert, *see* Robert.
Malmesbury, 271, 275, 284, 289, 336, 351.
Malton, 259.
Manceaux, the, lxvi.

MON

Mandeville, *see* Arnulf; Geoffrey; Stephen.
Mans, Le, 112–114.
Mantes, lxii, lxvi, 60, 210.
Margaret, daughter of Eadmund (Ironside), xci.
Margaret, Duchess of Normandy, lxvi.
Margaret, Queen of Scotland, 43, 90.
Marlborough Castle, 294.
Marmyon, *see* Robert.
Martel, W., *see* William.
Mary, daughter of Malcolm III. of Scotland, 135.
Mary, Princess, Abbess of Rumsey, 358.
Matilda, Countess of Perche, 189.
Matilda, Duchess of Normandy, 15, 33.
Matilda, daughter of Henry I., 158, 203, 208, 209, 211, 212, 216, 218, 225–227, 244, 247, 267, 280, 283, 295, 296, 299, 303, 307, 313, 314, 136, 317, 321, 325, 327, 340, 341, 345.
Matilda, Queen of Stephen, 321, 323, 348.
Matilda of Anjou, 173, 195.
Matilda of Blois, 189.
Matthew, Count of Beaumont, 176.
Matthew of Flanders, 358.
Mauconduit (Mauduit), *see* Robert.
Maude, Matilda Eadgyth, Queen of Henry I., 127, 160, 161.
Maude, natural daughter of Henry I., 163.
Maude of Ramsbury, 273, 275, 276.
Maule, de, *see* Peter.
Maurice, Bishop of Bangor, 287.
Maurice, Bishop of London, 124, 155.
Mayne, Le, lxvi., 53, 60, 87, 110, 128, 139, 150-152, 173, 195.
Mayenne, Geoffrey de, 112.
Mercia, 28, 40.
Meredyth, 299.
Merimonde, lxi.
Merioneth, castle of, 299.
Meulan, Counts of, *see* Robert; Waleran.
Michel, Mont S., abbey of, lix, 87.
Michelney, Abbot of, 136.
Miles Crispin, 157.
Milo de Beauchamp, 307, 341.
Milo of Eaton, 243, 251.
Milo de Mohun, 279.
Milo Fitz Walter, Constable, 240, 241, 243, 253, 284, 295, 299, 300, 317, 318, 333.
Mohun, *see* Humphrey; William.
Montagu, castle of, 37.
Montfort, Marshal de, 150.
Montfort, *see* Amaury; Hugh; Robert; Rotrou.

MON

Montfort sur Risle, 198. Castle of, 321.
Montgomery, castle of, 92.
Montgomery, *see* Arnulf; Hugh; Philip; Robert (de Belésme); Roger; Roger 'the Poitevin;' William (Talevas).
Montjoie, Paganus de, *see* Paganus.
Montmorency, de, *see* Bouchard.
Montpinçon, de, *see* William.
Montreuil, 174, 246.
Morel, nephew of the Earl of Northumberland, 100, 108.
Morin du Pin, 202.
Morkar, thegn, lxii.
Morkere, Earl, brother-in-law of King Harold, xcii, xciii, 25, 27, 28, 33, 35, 39, 43, 47, 48, 60, 80.
Mortagne, 326. Conference at, 306.
Mortagne, Counts of, *see* Robert; William.
Mortimer, de, *see* Ralf.
Mortimer-en-lions, lxv.
Motte Gautier, La, 164.
Moulines, de, *see* Hugh.
Moutiers-Hubert, 247.
Mowbray, de, *see* Geoffrey; Robert; Roger.
Murdach, *see* Henry.
Musard, *see* Robert.

NEUBOURG, 167, 244.
Neubourg, de, *see* Robert.
Neufchatel, de, *see* Hugh.
Neufmarché, 350.
Neufmarché, *see* Bernard.
Neuville, de, *see* Robert.
Nevernois, 60.
Newark, 273.
Newbury, castle of, 350.
Newcastle, 108, 233.
New Forest, 115.
Nigel, Bishop of Ely, 219, 251, 273, 275, 291, 334.
Nigel d'Albini, 176.
Nonancourt, castle of, 306.
Norfolk, 82.
Normandy, lvi, *et seq.*, 31, 55, 85, 106, 107, 138–143, 148, 150, 163–166, 187, 195, 196, 215, 226, 232, 244, 246–249, 289, 290, 305, 321, 326, 345.
Northampton, council of, 252.
Northamptonshire, 82.
Northumbria, earldom of, 8, 28, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 56, 88, 107, 259.
Norwich, lxvii, 37, 82, 233, 236. Earldom of, 30. Earls of, *see* Ralf de Guader; William the Ætheling.
Nottingham, 296, 353.

PHI

Noyon, 171.
Nunant, de, *see* Robert.

ODARD DU PIN, 200.
Odda, Earl, lxxxvii.
Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 30, 54, 57, 60, 81–83.
Odo Berleg, 198, 199.
Odo of Champagne, *see* Eudes.
Odo, Sieur de Gometz, 175.
Olaf of Norway, 59.
Olney, Isle of, lxxvi.
Orismes, 266.
Osbern Fitz Richard Scrope, 81.
Osbern-Pentecost, lxxxvi.
Osmond de Chaumont, 177, 178.
Osulf, governor of Bernicia, 32.
Oswy, lxix.
Othere, 139.
Otwell, lxxv.
Ouche, 180, 245.
Ouen, S. at Rouen, lix.
Ouen, Bishop of Evreux, 175, 184.
Owen, Prince of Powis, 159.
Oxford, lxix, lxxi, lxxix, 64, 234, 267, 273, 274, 313, 325, 327, 329, 336.
Synod of, 234
Oyley, d', *see* Robert.

PACI, 170.
Paci, *see* Eustace of Bréteuil.
Paganus de Montjoie, 177.
Paganus de Gisors, 198.
Pagenel, *see* Ralf.
Pantoul, *see* William.
Papia, Duchess of Normandy, lxii.
Pascal II., Pope, 137.
Payn, Fitz-John, Sheriff of Hereford and Salop, 240, 243.
Pembroke, 92, 131.
Pembrokeshire, Flemings in, 159.
Pen, lxxv.
Perans, de, *see* Godfrey.
Percy, de, *see* William.
Peter de Maule, 177, 289.
Peter pence, 58.
Peterborough Abbey, 47.
Pevensey, 16, 83, 345.
Peveril, 106.
Peverill, *see* William.
Philip I., King of France, 14, 55, 60, 87, 106, 107, 138.
Philip, son of Philip I. of France, 174.
Philip Colville, 357.
Philip, son of the Earl of Gloster, 336, 339, 341, 342.
Philip Harcourt, Bishop of Sarum, 292.

PHI

Philip de Montgomery, 109.
Plashy, castle of, 334, 335.
Pin, du, *see* Morel; Odard.
Pinkney, de, *see* Walter,
Pirou, de, *see* William.
Plessis, 164.
Plessis, de, *see* Hugh.
Plymton, 238.
Poer, le, *see* Roger.
Pomerie, de, *see* Henry.
Pont Audemar, 197, 198.
Pont de l'Arche, 347.
Pont de l'Arche, *see* William.
Pont Echaufré, 290.
Pont S. Pierre, 170, 174, 246.
Pontefract, 37.
Ponthieu, county of, 129.
Pontoise, lxii, 210.
Popa of Bayeux, lv.
Portla..d, Isle of, 328.
Portsmouth, 128.
Powis, 92.

QUEEN, position of the, among the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, 65.
Quercy, De, 353.
Quitri, 250.

RADCHENISTRI, RADMEN, 73.
Rainier, Count of Montferrat, 210.
Ralf d'Aix, 116.
Ralf d'Argouges, 142.
Ralf d'Escures, Abbot of Séez, Bishop of Rochester, 155. Archbishop of Canterbury, 159, 160, 205.
Ralf, Bishop of the Orkneys, 260, 261.
Ralf Basset, 206.
Ralf Caldoet, 342.
Ralf de Guader, 30, 43, 53–55.
Ralf de Guader the younger, 170, 174, 179, 181.
Ralf of Mantes, lxxxvi, xci.
Ralf de Mortimer, 82, 85, 92, 141.
Ralf Pagenel, 295.
Ralf the Red, 166, 173, 175, 179, 180, 189.
Ralf de Tonei, lxiv.
Ramsey, 337. Abbey of, 335.
Ranulf of Conches, 85, 128, 141, 144, 181.
Ranulf Flambard, or Passeflambard, 94, 96, 102, 103, 115, 128, 149.
Ranulf de Meschines (Briquesart), Viscount of Bayeux, 144, 198; Earl of Chester, 297, 298, 346.
Ranulf de Meschines (Gernons), Earl

ROB

of Chester, 296, 301, 302, 320, 336, 341, 343, 345–347, 354.
Raoul of Normandy, lx.
Reading, 313, 353.
Redvers, *see* Baldwin; Richard.
Reginald de Dunstanville, Earl of Cornwall, 293, 318, 319, 342.
Regnold de Balliol, 170, 171.
Reignelm, Chancellor of Queen Maude, 137, 154.
Reignold, brother of De Warrenne, 144.
Reinier, 338.
Remenham Hill, 325.
Renouard, castle of, 171.
Revenue of William I., 63.
Rheims, lvii. Catholic Council of, 182.
Rhuddlan, xci. Castle of, 41.
Rhuddlan, *see* Robert de Tilleuil.
Rhys ap Tydr, King of South Wales, 91.
Ribault, 290.
Richard I. (*Sans peur*), Duke of Normandy, lvii, lviii.
Richard II., the Good, Duke of Normandy, lx.
Richard III., Duke of Normandy, lxii.
Richard, Abbot of Ely, 136, 137, 157.
Richard d'Abrincis, Earl of Chester, 141, 189.
Richard de Bienfaite, 176.
Richard de Courci, 260.
Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Cardigan, 241.
Richard Fitz-Richard Scrope, lxxxix.
Richard Fitz-Urse, 303.
Richard, natural son of Henry I., 171, 174, 179, 181, 189.
Richard, Bishop of London, 155.
Richard de Redvers, 157.
Richard, son of Robert Curthose, 115.
Richard de Stuteville, 260.
Richard, son of William I., 115.
Richer de l'Aigle, 165, 166, 180, 245, 246, 249, 305.
Riddel, *see* Geoffrey.
Robert, Abbot of S. Edmund's, 136, 157.
Robert, lxxxv, lxxxix, Archbishop of Canterbury, 6, 7, 15.
Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, and Count of Evreux, lxii.
Robert de Batthenton (or Baddington), 236, 237.
Robert (de Belésme) Montgomery, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 93, 112, 129, 131–135, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147, 149, 153.
Robert, Bishop of Hereford, 333.
Robert, Bishop of London, 313.
Robert Bloet, Bishop of Dorchester, 96, 133, 135, 204.
Robert de Bellomont, Count de Meulan, 103, 128, 129, 141, 144.

ROB

Robert de Bellomont, Earl of Leicester, 196, 244, 305, 321, 348.
Robert de Bruce, 260.
Robert the Burgundian, 85.
Robert Comines (Comyn), 36.
Robert, Count d'Eu, 85.
Robert de Courci, 178.
Robert I., Duke of Normandy, lv.
Robert II., Duke of Normandy, lxii, lxxxi.
Robert (Curthose) Duke of Normandy, 54–56, 60, 61, 80, 81, 83–89, 106, 107, 110, 115, 127–130, 132, 133, 138–147, 149, 201, 208, 219.
Robert d'Estoteville, 144, 145.
Robert de Ferrers, 145, 147, 260, 266.
Robert Fitz-Hamon, 92, 82, 157.
Robert Fitz-Hildebrand, 334.
Robert Fitz-Hubert, 284, 294.
Robert Fitz Richard, 36.
Robert the Frisian, 59.
Robert Giroie de S. Ceneri, 164, 174.
Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I., 176, 208, 209, 233, 234, 249, 253, 267, 280, 282, 285, 286, 293, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 311, 316, 317, 319–322, 328, 331, 340 345.
Robert Goël, 172, 175.
Robert de Grantmesnil, 144.
Robert Hachet, 165.
Robert de Lacey, 109, 129.
Robert Malet, 129.
Robert Marmyon, 336, 337.
Robert Mauconduit (Mauduit), 189.
Robert de Montfort, 141, 144.
Robert, Count of Mortagne and Earl of Cornwall, 21, 30, 81–83.
Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, 81, 84, 107–109.
Robert Musard, 342.
Robert de Neubourg, 165, 185.
Robert de Neuville, 133.
Robert de Nunant, 318.
Robert d'Oyley, 313, 318.
Robert de Sablé, 244.
Robert de Tilleuil (of Rhuddlan), 41, 56, 81.
Rochester Castle, 81, 83, 320.
Rockingham, council of, 103.
Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, 82, 83, 157.
Roger, chancellor to Henry I., Bishop of Sarum, 136, 154, 268, 270, 275, 277, 288.
Roger de Cheney, 318.
Roger de Clinton, Bishop of Chester, 334.
Roger de Lucy, 289, 353, 356.
Roger, 'the larderer,' Bishop of Hereford, 136.

SIB

Roger Fitz Corbet, 133.
Roger Fitz Milo, Earl of Hereford, 337.
Roger Fitzosbern, Earl of Hertford, 53, 54, 60.
Roger Fitz Richard, 177.
Roger Fitz Roger, 176.
Roger of Gloucester, 142.
Roger Harding, 342.
Roger, Viscount of the Cotentin, 250.
Roger de Lacey, 82.
Roger Montgomery, 21, 30, 81, 85, 92.
Roger Montgomery 'the Poitevin,' son of the preceding, 131, 135, 139.
Roger de Mowbray, 260.
Roger le Poer, 272, 275, 276.
Roger (de Roumere), Lord of Bolingbroke, 297.
Roger de Toeni, 244, 246, 289.
Roger, Earl of Warwick, 313.
Rolf (Rollo) the "ganger," lv.
Romney Marsh, 26.
Rotrou, Count of Perche, 141, 163, 249, 290, 305, 350.
Rotrou de Montfort, 112.
Rouen, lviii, lix, 60, 85, 166, 321. Archbishop of, 278.
Roumere, *see* Roger; William.

SABLÉ, de, *see* Robert.
Sai, de, *see* Enguerrand.
Salop, lxxiii.
Samson, Bishop of Hereford, 103.
Sandwich, lxvii, 37.
Sarum, lxvii, 41. Cathedral, 271.
Saxons, West, 30.
Saxons, 31, 32, 39, 41, 43–45, 49–51, 56, 64–70, 80, 127.
Scrob (Scrope), Osbern and Richard, sons of, lxxxix.
Scrope, *see* Osbern.
Scotland, 88, 90.
Scots, 259–262.
Séez, 165, 244. Bishop of, 141. Bishopric of, 130.
Séez, *see* Ralf d'Escures.
Senlac, 19.
Serjeanty, grand, 72, 73.
Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, 117.
Serquigny, 350.
Sheppey, lxxv.
Sherborne Castle, 271, 275, 330.
Sheriff (scir-reeve), 67.
Shrewsbury, 37, 92, 133, 134. Earldom of, 93, 256. Earls of, *see* Roger; Hugh; Robert.
Shropshire, 92.
Sibyl Corbet, 293.
Sibylla de Conversana, 127, 139.

Sibylla, daughter of Fulke of Anjou, 195, 203, 215.
Sigeferth, thegn, lxxii.
Simon the Red, 289, 290.
Simon de S. Liz, Earl of Northampton, 300, 304, 354
Sion, Bishop of, 45.
Siward, Earl of Northumberland, xc.
Siward-Barn, 28, 31, 47, 48, 60.
Slade, 256.
Slaves, 74.
Sleaford, 273.
Socage, free, 73.
Soche, Sochmen, 68, 73.
Somersetshire, 279.
Sorel, Mount, 350.
Southampton, lxxxiii, 326.
Southwark, 315.
Spalding, 297.
Sparhafoc, Abbot, lxxxvii.
Standard, battle of the, 260–263.
Stafford, lxxiii, 64.
Stamford, 353.
Stanford-bridge, battle of, xciii, 12, 17, 20.
Stanton, castle of, 92.
Steepholme Island, 33.
Stephen, Count d'Aumale, 107, 141, 165, 185.
Stephen of Blois, 165, 168, 174, 189, 209. King of England, 228–234, 238, 239, 242, 244, 248–253, 264, 266–289, 292–297, 299–303, 315, 322, 326–345, 347, 348, 350–358.
Stephen de Mandeville, 336.
Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, 26, 28, 31, 41, 46.
Stockbridge, 320.
Stuteville, de, *see* Richard.
Sudley, 286.
Sulli, de, *see* Henry.
Svend II., King of Denmark, lxv, lxvii, lxx, 14, 18, 32, 37.
Sweyn, King of Norway, lxxxii.
Sweyn, son of Earl Godwine, lxxxv, lxxxvii.

TALBOT, *see* Geoffrey; Hugh.
Talou, the, 165.
Talou, de, *see* William.
Tankerville, de, *see* William.
Taunton, 158.
Tavistock, Abbot of, 136.
Tenants in chief, 70, 73.
Tetbury, 337.
Teutons, 8.
Thegn, 66.
Theobald, Count of Chartres, lix.
Theobald, Count of Blois, 162, 163, 165, 166, 189, 234, 244, 246, 259, 296, 306, 348, 349.
Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, 266, 305, 307, 308, 334, 347, 348, 355
Thetford, see of, 96, 103.
Thomas, Archbishop of York, 155.
Thorkell of Lime, 28.
Thorkill the Dane, lxviii, lxx.
Thorstein, son of Rollo the White, 21.
Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 159, 160, 182, 187, 252, 259, 292.
Tilleuil, de, *see* Robert.
Tinchebrai, 143, 326. Battle of, 143.
Toeni, *see* Ralf de; Ranulf of Conches; Roger de.
Tonbridge Castle, 82.
Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, xc, *et seq.*, 8, 12, 17.
Touque, 289, 290.
Tower of London, 126.
Tracey, de, *see* Henry.
Troussebot, *see* William
Trowbridge, 284, 287.
Turgis of Orléans, 339.
Tyckyll, 133, 135.
Tynemouth Castle, 138.
Tyrel, *see* Walter.
Tythings, 68.

UHTRED, Earl of Northumberland, lxx, lxxiii.
Ulf, Bishop of Dorchester, lxxxv, lxxxix.
Ulf, son of Dolphin, xcii.
Ulf, son of King Harold, 80.
Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, 155.

VALENCIENNES, lx.
Valesdunes, battle of, lxv.
Vascueil, Enguerrand de, *see* Enguerrand.
Vatteville, 198, 202.
Vaudreil, castle of, 245.
Vere, de, *see* Alberic.
Verneuil, castle of, 305, 350.
Vexin, the, lxii, 60, 210, 350.
Vignats, 132.
Vilers, 326.
Villeinage, 73.
Vitalis, the hermit, 145.
Voueille, 350.

WALCHERE, Bishop of Durham, Earl of Northumbria, 56.
Waldene, castle of, 334, 335, 339.
Waleran de Bellomont, Count of Meulan, 195, 196, 199, 200, 215, 245, 274, 284, 286, 300, 302, 304, 305, 321.

WAL

Wales, xci, xcii, 32, 41, 56, 91–93, 159, 195, 233, 240, 299.
Walkelin de Ferrers, 43.
Walkelin-Mamenot, 256.
Wallingford, 284, 341, 350 355.
Walter D'Aufray, 176.
Walter d'Espec, 260, 264.
Walter d'Evreux, 189.
Walter of Ghent, 260.
Walter Giffard, 21, 30, 85, 176.
Walter, Bishop of Hereford, 26.
Walter de Pinkney, 339, 357.
Walter Tyrel, 116.
Walter de St. Valery, 85.
Walter de Valiquerville, 198, 199.
Waltheof, Earl, xci, 31, 37, 39, 43, 53, 54.
Wardship, 72.
Wareham, 256, 280, 326, 328.
Warewast, de, *see* William.
Wark, 264.
Warrenne, de, *see* William.
Warwick, 353.
Watling Street, lxx, 74.
Welger the huntsman, 133.
Weobley, 253.
Westminster, xcii, 313. Hall, 119. Synod of, 136.
Wherwell, 319.
Wight, Isle of, lxviii, 12, 30, 233, 239.
Wigmore, 92.
William I., Duke of Normandy, lvi.
William II., Duke of Normandy, lxiv, lxxxvii, xciii. I., King of England, 3, 6, 9–19, 21, 22, 24, 25–33, 35, 36–41, 43–46, 48, 52–60, 89, 91.
William II. (Rufus), King of England, 60, 79–82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 91–96, 102, 103, 105–120.
William the Ætheling, 160, 162, 173, 187.
William, Earl of Albemarle and York, 260, 266, 300, 302.
William d'Albini, 282.
William d'Alderi, 109.
William Bigod, 189.
William de Cheney, 348.
William, son of Walter de Beauchamp, 287.
William, Count of Belésme, lxii.
William de Bréteuil (Fitzosbern), 13, 21, 30, 36, 85, 87.
William de Bréteuil, son of W. Fitzosbern, 54, 115, 123.
William de Bréteuil, son of Eustace, 244.
William de Chamai, 339.
William, the Clito, 148, 150, 153, 161, 164, 165, 172, 177, 184, 195, 202, 203, 209, 210, 213, 214.
William Comyn, 263.
William de Conversana, 140.

WIL

William Crispin, 145, 147, 162, 166, 177, 198.
William Curboil, Archbishop of Canterbury, 205, 209, 232, 243.
William, Earl of Cornwall, *see* William, Count of Mortagne.
William de Dover, 336, 339.
William, Bishop of Durham, 81, 82, 84.
William d'Eu, 82, 107, 109.
William, Count of Evreux, 21, 85, 142, 144, 161, 162.
William, Bishop of Exeter, 155.
William Fitz-Alan, 256, 318.
William Fitz-Odo, 280.
William Fitz Richard, 293.
William Fossard, 260.
William de Garlande, Seneschal of France, 176.
William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, 124, 137, 154, 218.
William, son of the Earl of Gloster, 326. Earl of Gloster, 348, 351, 357.
William de Grandcourt, 199.
William Harcourt, 198.
William of Hiesmes, lx.
William the Good, Bishop of London, lxxxv.
William Louvel, 196, 199, 202, 253.
William Martel, 310, 329, 330, 353.
William de Mohun, 279. Earl of Dorset, 318.
William de Montpinçon, 247.
William, Count of Mortagne, Earl of Cornwall, 140, 143, 145, 201, 202.
William, son of Count William of Nevers, 246.
William Pantoul, 133, 134.
William de Percy, 260.
William de Peverill, 260, 350.
William de Pirou, 189.
William IX., Count of Poictiers, 162, 184, 246, 250.
William Pont de l'Arche, 232.
William de Roumere, 176, 195, 196, 215, 250, 296, 298.
William de Rhuddlan, 189.
William, Prince, of Scotland, 259.
William, second son of King Stephen, 355, 358.
William (Talevas) Montgomery, 174, 244, 246.
William, Count of Talou, lii.
William de Tankerville, 176.
William, son of Theoderic, 117.
William Troussebot, 290.
William de Warewast, 137.
William de Warrene, 1st Earl of Surrey, 30, 82.
William de Warrenne, 2nd Earl, 129, 130, 144, 176

WIL

William de Warrenne, 3rd Earl, 250, 300, 302, 304, 320.
William, treasurer of York, 292.
William, Viscount d'Ypres, 210, 249, 275, 300, 301, 304, 318, 319, 357.
Wilton, lxvii, 305, 328, 329.
Winchcombe, 287, 347.
Winchester, lxxi, lxxxii, lxxxiv, 30, 33, 45, 119, 123, 128, 204, 207, 231, 304, 305, 318–320. Convention at, 311. Abbey of, 96. Synods of, 45, 276, 324. Treaty of, 355.
Windsor, 159, 202. Forest, 62.
Witena gemote, 68, 69, 74.
Wlfhild, daughter of Æthedred II., lxxxviii.

YVO

Wlfnoth, the outlaw, lxviii.
Wlfric, lxix.
Woodstock, 222, 325.
Worcester, 266, 285, 347, 348. See of, 103.
Worcestershire, 82.
Wulfnoth, son of Earl Godwine, 10, 60, 80.
Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, 26, 54, 83.

YORK, 35, 36, 37, 54, 64, 259.
Yorkshire, 37, 63.
Yetne, forest of, 62, 115.
Yvo Taillebois, Lord of Heyland, 296.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

00031550

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018